

CHAPTER 2

PERSONAL APPEARANCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF ROMAN BRITAIN

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INTRODUCTION

Evidence for the clothes that the people of Roman Britain wore is sometimes available to us through sculptural depictions on tombstones, and occasionally through wall paintings and figures represented on mosaics. Such representations are rare, however, even in urban, military and high-status sites, and while these may give an indication about the appearance of some occupants of military sites and towns, they contribute little to our understanding of the way people looked in the wider countryside.

There is also little evidence from the textiles themselves; fabrics survive only in exceptional circumstances, as in the waterlogged conditions at Vindolanda (Cool 2016, 406) and there is insufficient evidence from clothing to inform us about regional traditions of dress. Most evidence from the Roman world comes from the Mediterranean (cf. Rothe 2012), and from this we know that woollen and linen tunics were the principal types of clothing, worn by both sexes along with tube dresses, worn by women (Cool 2016, 409). Outer garments took the form of cloaks and capes for men and mantles for women (*ibid.*). Even in Rome the toga was essentially a formal item of clothing, worn only for ceremonial occasions (Allason-Jones 2014, 70; Cool 2016, 418). Tunics varied in shape between provinces; a type that is believed to have been common in the north-western provinces of the empire is often referred to by archaeologists as the Gallic coat, characterised by its long sleeves (Wild 1968, 168). The *birrus Britannicus*, a hooded woollen cape, is listed in the Edict of Diocletian (Wild 2002, 1), while a range of other garments are named on the writing tablets from Vindolanda and curse tablets from Bath (*ibid.* 25). Although these provide some evidence for a variety of types of clothing worn in Britain, the examples are not from rural sites, and we can expect there to have been considerable regional and social differences in the form of garments, as well as in the patterns and colours used (where they were decorated at all), which reflected varying cultural and social norms, including tribal tradition, religious affiliation, social status, gender and age (cf. Rothe 2009 for analysis of dress and cultural identity in the Rhine-Moselle region of the Roman Empire).

Although we usually lack visual depictions of dress, there is a wide array of objects that provide evidence for the ways people dressed and displayed themselves in Roman Britain. Although clothes themselves rarely survive, the brooches used to secure garments, hairpins for holding together hairstyles and dress accessories, such as finger rings and bracelets, often allow us to gain an impression of what some people may have looked like (FIG. 2.1). Common finds of personal grooming equipment, including tweezers, nail cleaners and cosmetic spoons, attest to the desire not only for personal hygiene (FIG. 2.2), but also for the wish to present oneself as clean and respectable to others, especially as such accoutrements were often worn together, sometimes grouped on a decorative chatelaine brooch (e.g. Eckardt 2008; Eckardt and Crummy 2008). Such objects are a widely recognised component of Roman finds assemblages in Britain. However, as will become clear in this chapter, they were by no means familiar to everyone. Indeed, the types of object that tell us most about the way people looked are very unevenly distributed, occurring most frequently at military, urban and villa sites and there is considerable variation in their geographical distribution outside of these settlement types. There is no doubt that the rural population of Roman Britain encompassed groups of people who looked very different from one another, and shared ways of dressing must have been an important aspect of formulating and maintaining common group identities (Allason-Jones 2014, 70). The purpose of this chapter is to examine the evidence we have for the variation in the way people presented themselves in the countryside of Roman Britain, by providing an overview of some important social and geographical differences that are evident across a range of objects associated with people's personal appearance.

For the purposes of this chapter, five broad groups of material culture have been selected to explore the appearance of people living in the countryside of Roman Britain – brooches, bracelets, finger rings, hairpins and personal grooming equipment. The last group covers a range of objects including tweezers, nail cleaners, cosmetic grinders, cosmetic palettes, cosmetic

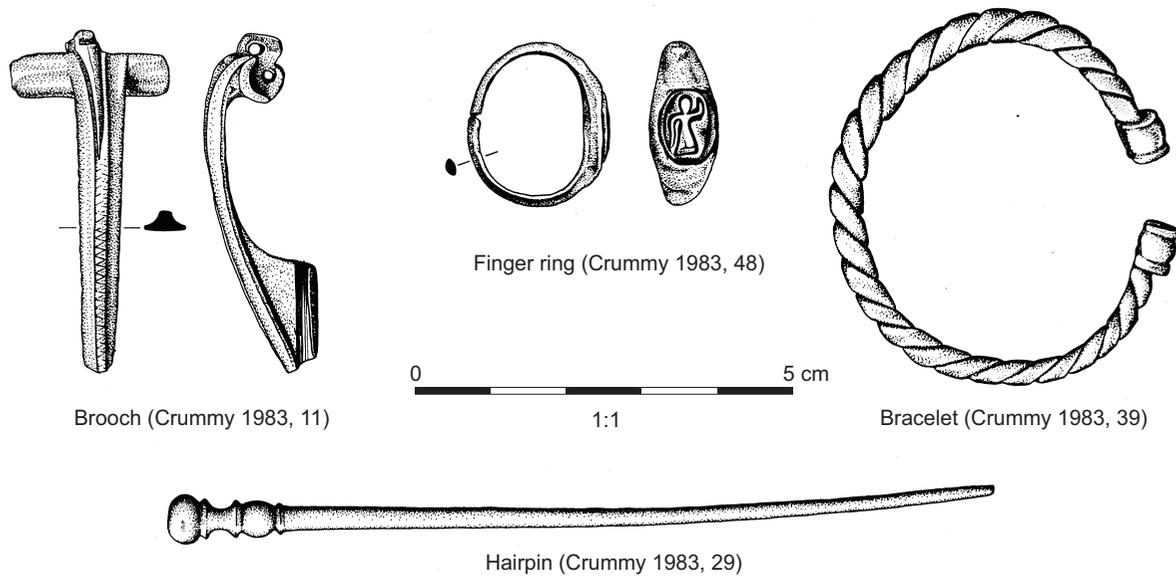


FIG. 2.1. A selection of objects associated with personal adornment, all from Colchester (Crummy 1983)

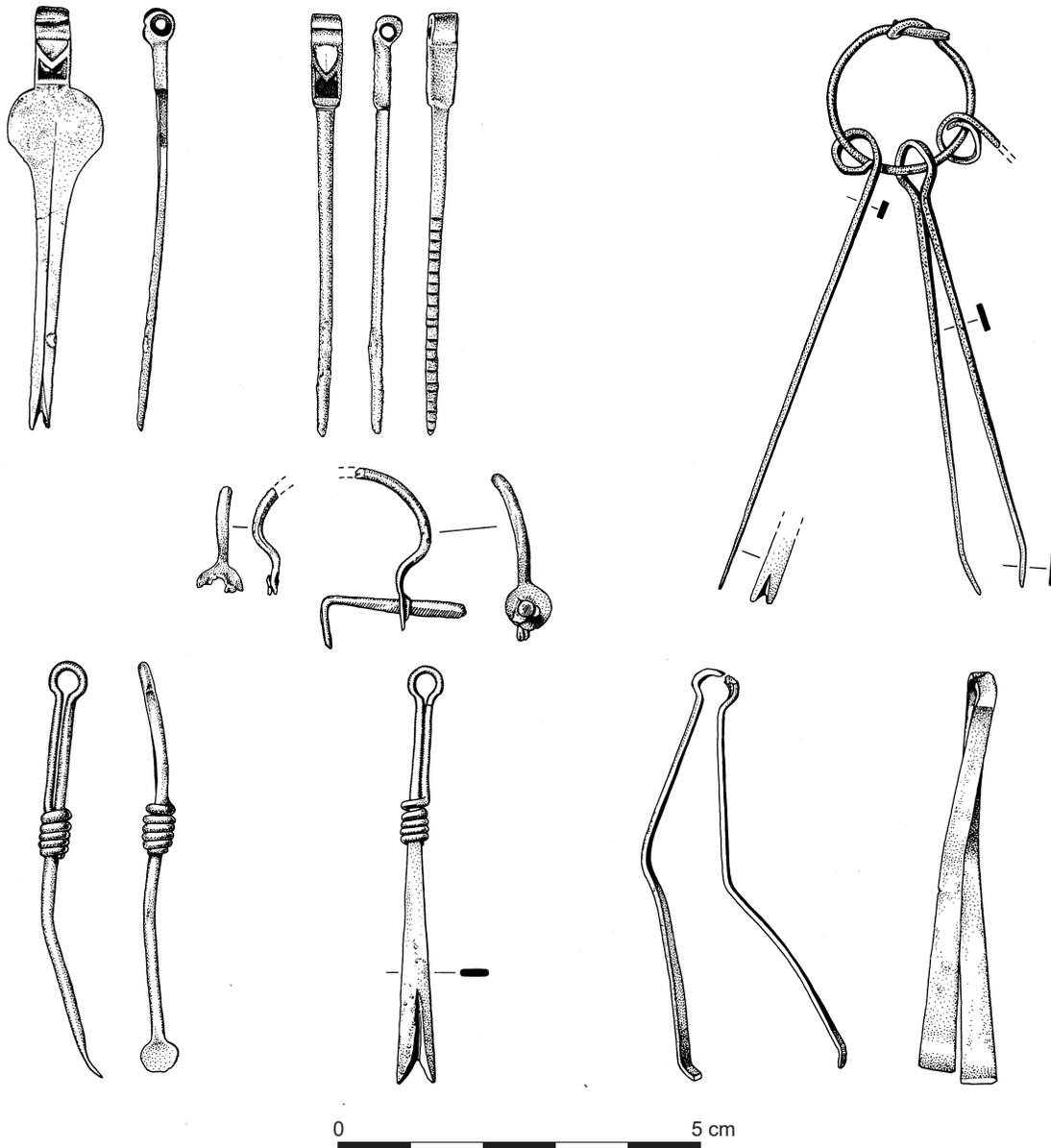


FIG. 2.2. A selection of personal grooming equipment, all from Colchester (Crummy 1983). Scale 1:1

spoons, combs and mirrors, most of which are likely to have been associated with personal adornment (see Eckardt and Crummy 2008 for a useful overview, though also Morrison (2013) for an alternative perspective regarding the function of some object types).

These five groups have been selected because they are the most common types of object associated with personal adornment recovered from Romano-British sites, and their social and geographical distribution may allow us to recognise broad similarities and differences between people living at different types of rural sites, and in different geographical areas. The approach adopted in the subsequent discussion has been to present a brief overview of the social distribution (see Crummy and Eckardt 2003 and Eckardt 2014, 17–20, for discussions of the value of such an approach) of each of these object types in each of the eight project regions (see Ch. 1, FIG. 1.1). As brooches are by far the most common type of dress accessory recovered from Romano-British rural sites, these have then been selected for more detailed analysis, allowing regional and social distinctions in the types of brooches used to be recognised.

BROOCHES

Brooches are found in a bewildering range of different forms. Mackreth, in his recently published volume (2011), the culmination of nearly 50 years of study, identifies in his ‘monster of a classification system’ (*ibid.*, vi) 59 families of brooches, and over 1000 types and varieties in all (cf. Statton 2012, 107). Despite the multitude of types recognised by Mackreth, Roman brooches can, at the simplest level, be divided into three very broad types – bow brooches (often termed *fibulae*), plate brooches and penannular brooches. While each of these basic forms of brooch includes a staggering array of variation, there are enough similarities in form between many brooches to allow broad families and sub-types to be recognised, although there remain many hybrids and ‘one-offs’ that defy classification. No attempt is made to describe in detail the different varieties here, and the reader is directed towards the work of Mackreth (2011), Bayley and Butcher (2004) and Hattatt (1982; 1985; 1987; 1989) for descriptions and illustrations of the principal types.

The main function of most brooches was to secure clothing, although, like any aspect of personal dress, as highly visible objects they potentially also served as a means of displaying information about the wearer’s social status and identity (Jundi and Hill 1998). The brooch pin could be sprung or hinged, and was essentially used to secure clothes in a similar way to a safety

pin. Many plate brooches would have been ineffective for securing heavily woven cloth, lacking the space between the pin and the catchplate to secure bulky garments, leading Allason-Jones to suggest that they may have been decorative rather than functional, with some types carrying ideological messages (Allason-Jones 2014), although it seems plausible that some may have been used to secure very fine fabrics such as silk, which would certainly have been worn by the very affluent (Cool 2016, 419). Although usually found individually, brooches were often worn in pairs, as head-loops and chains found on some brooch types suggest, and as indicated by occasional discoveries from graves, such as a pair of disc brooches included as grave goods in the grave of a woman at North Lancing, West Sussex (Kelly and Dudley 1981).

Brooches were used in Britain from at least the early Iron Age (S. Adams 2013), although they are rare discoveries at archaeological sites for periods up until the first century B.C., at which point there was a well-recognised boom in the numbers of brooches being used and lost in southern Britain – Hill’s ‘Fibula Event Horizon’ (Hill 1995a; 1995b; 1997; Jundi and Hill 1998). This increase in the use of brooches occurs rather later in central and northern Britain, not happening until after the Roman conquest, from the late first century A.D. onwards (Jundi and Hill 1998; Cool and Baxter 2016). It was suggested by Jundi and Hill that the increased number of brooches in the archaeological record during the late Iron Age and early Roman periods reflects not just that more brooches were in circulation at these times, but that they, as well as other objects of personal adornment, were being deposited in particular ways, frequently chosen as objects to accompany burials and often placed as ritual deposits (Jundi and Hill 1998, 128–9). The frequent use of brooches for religious deposition during the Roman period is attested by the recovery of many brooches from Romano-British temples and shrines, and several examples are discussed below (see also Ch. 5).

Recently, by ordering the brooches recorded in Mackreth’s corpus (2011) chronologically, Cool and Baxter (2016) have used statistical methods to bring greater resolution to the chronology of brooch use in Britain. They demonstrated distinctive regional patterns for Hill’s ‘Fibula Event Horizon’, with the increased use of brooches happening significantly later in the midlands and the north than in the south and the east of the province. Importantly, they were also able to recognise what they have termed a ‘Fibula Abandonment Horizon’, when brooches ceased to be such an important part of dress. This begins to

occur from around the beginning of the third century A.D., although the authors demonstrated that the decline in brooch use was again regionally variable, with brooch use continuing later into the Roman period in the regions slowest to adopt them (i.e. midlands and north). Of additional importance was their identification of the potentially extremely long use-life brooches could have, with some types being recovered from dated contexts separated by many decades, occasionally even by centuries. Although the use-life of different types is certain to have been very variable, Cool and Baxter were able to suggest that few types were likely to have been short-lived fashions, and therefore cannot confidently be slotted into groups with tightly defined temporal parameters (*ibid.*, 87).

The following regional analysis of brooch use at rural sites utilises the method adopted by Cool for Mackreth's brooches, grouping bow brooches into

five broad chronological bands, with separate groups for plate brooches and those of penannular form (Cool 2016). Plate brooches have been considered as one group for two reasons: first, as we shall see, they are fairly infrequent finds at Roman rural sites, and, second, many plate brooches are imprecisely identified in archaeological site reports and are thus difficult to date. Similarly, penannular brooches of broadly similar form were used throughout the late Iron Age and Roman periods (and beyond) and are notoriously difficult to date (e.g. Booth 2014, 53). The advantage of this approach is that it provides a pragmatic means of comparing brooch use between rural site types and between regions, which allows for some broad chronological resolution, but without the complexities of attempting to compare sites and regions by the large number of individual brooch-families.

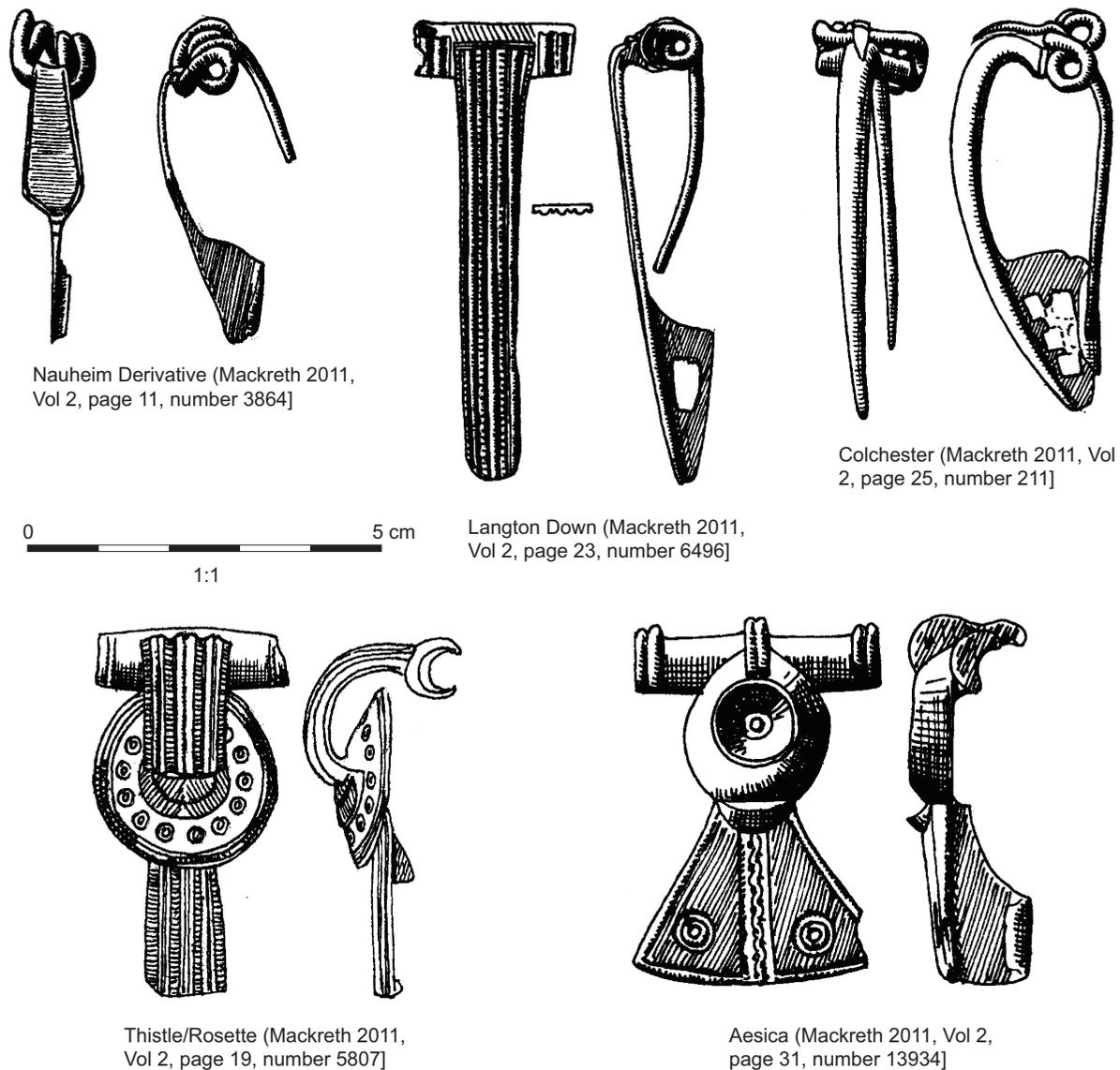


FIG. 2.3. A selection of brooches within the Group A category (all illustrated by Mackreth 2011)

Although Cool's basic method for analysing brooches has been employed, the names of each group have been altered for the purposes of the following analysis, and the groups discussed are:

Group A – All brooches of Iron Age type, especially those common during the first half of the first century A.D., many of which continued to be used in the decades immediately following the Roman Conquest. The most common types are Iron Age La Tène I, II and III brooches, including Nauheim Derivatives and Colchester one-piece brooches, along with other broad families such as the Langton Down, the Thistle/Rosette and the Aesica types (FIG. 2.3).

Group B – The wide range of Colchester Derivative brooches and their variants, which began to develop in the early years following the conquest, and which continued to be used well into the second century A.D., including brooches

of Initial T-Shaped and Polden Hill types. Also included in this group are the new brooch types that came in with the Roman army during the mid-first century A.D. – the Hod Hill and the Aucissa and their derivatives (FIG. 2.4).

Group C – Brooches that began to develop in the later part of the first century A.D. and which continued until the late second century, predominantly brooches of Developed T-shaped, Trumpet and Headstud type, along with their derivatives (FIG. 2.5).

Group D – Brooches that are predominantly of late second to third century date – principally the Knee brooch and Sheath Footed types (FIG. 2.6).

Group E – Crossbow Brooches (FIG. 2.7).

Plate Brooches – plate brooches of all dates, including a range of types and forms (FIG. 2.8).

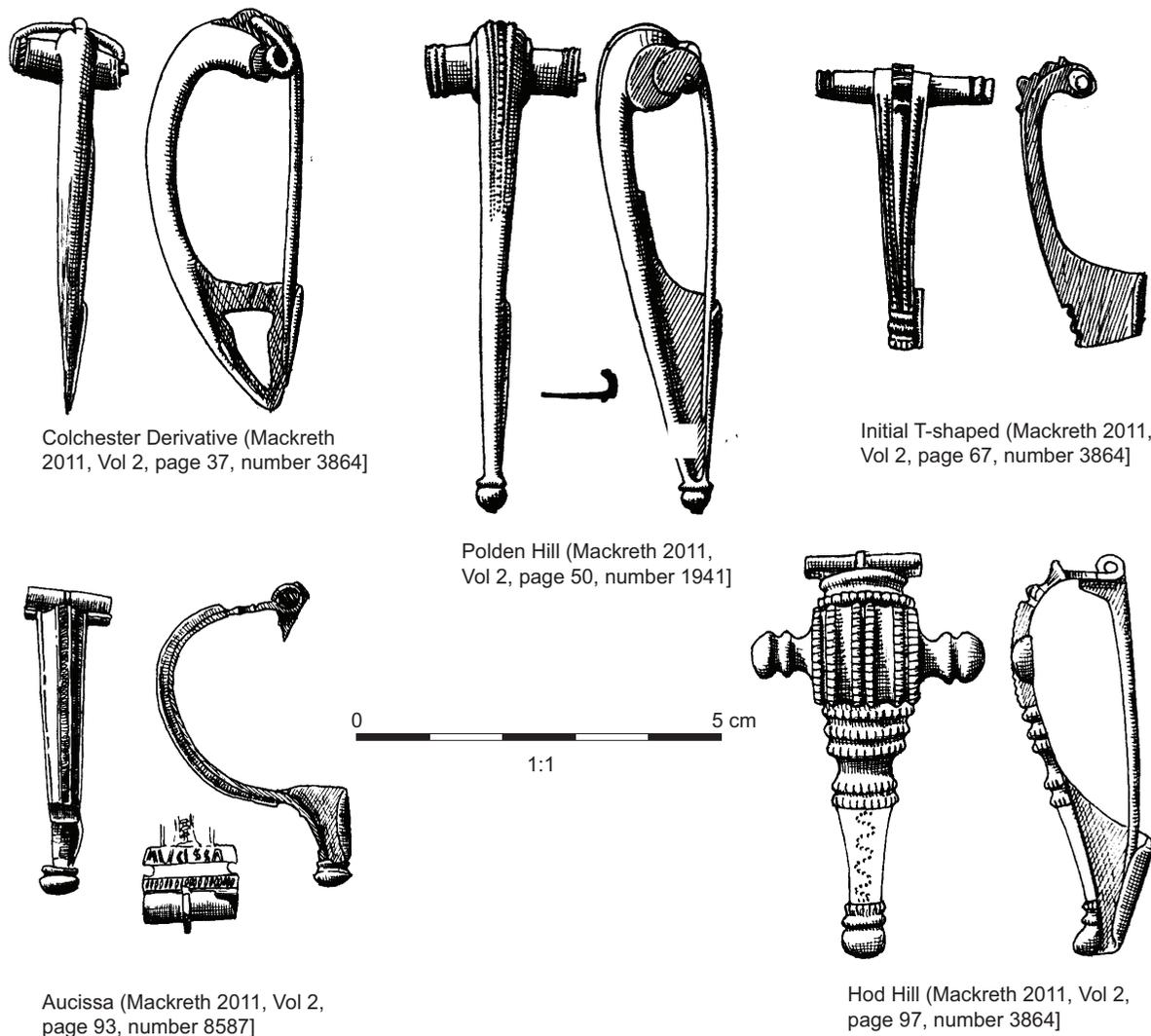


FIG. 2.4. A selection of brooches within the Group B category (all illustrated by Mackreth 2011)

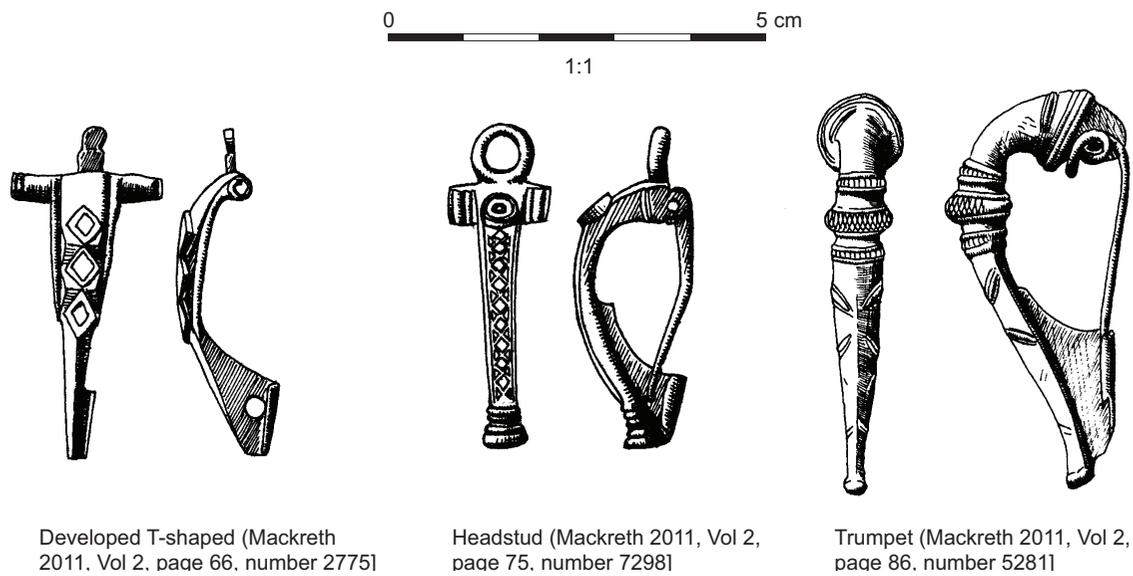


FIG. 2.5. A selection of brooches within the Group C category (all illustrated by Mackreth 2011)

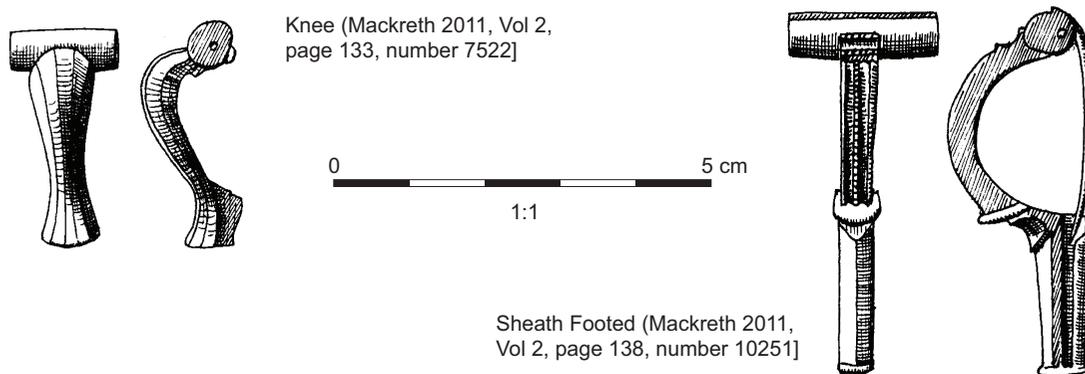


FIG. 2.6. A selection of brooches within the Group D category (all illustrated by Mackreth 2011)

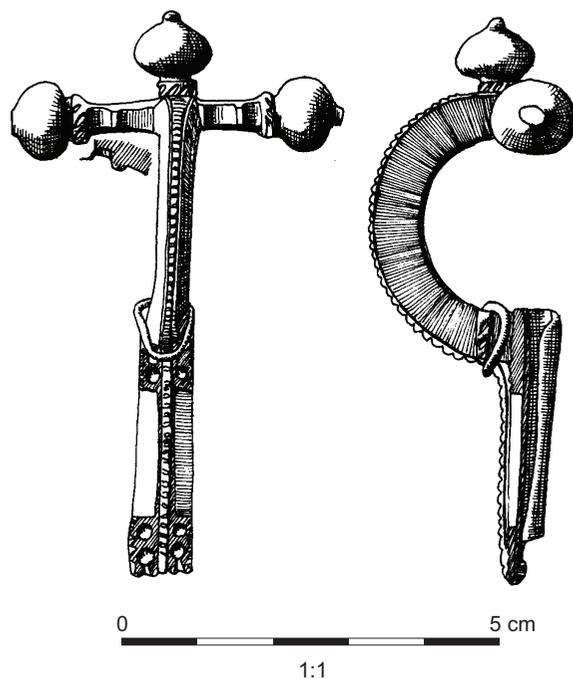


FIG. 2.7. Example of a Crossbow brooch in Group E category (illustrated by Mackreth 2011, page 141, 10438)

Penannular Brooches – notoriously difficult to date penannular brooches of all types (FIG. 2.9).

The above groupings provide a pragmatic way for drawing together and interpreting a very large body of data. However, a strong note of caution is required. Cool, using Mackreth's data, could be confident of the identifications of the brooches she was using, as all were identified by Mackreth himself. The brooches recorded by the Roman Rural Settlement Project were from a wide range of different published and unpublished sources, and were identified and recorded by a large number of finds specialists (and often non-specialists), with varying expertise in brooches. It is therefore inevitable that some brooches are misidentified, and, indeed, incorrectly identified brooches have frequently been recognised in finds reports during data collection. Although this brings an element of 'fuzziness' to the data, it is unlikely to have too drastic an impact on the broad patterns identified in the context of this review of brooch use. Nevertheless, there is one particular problem

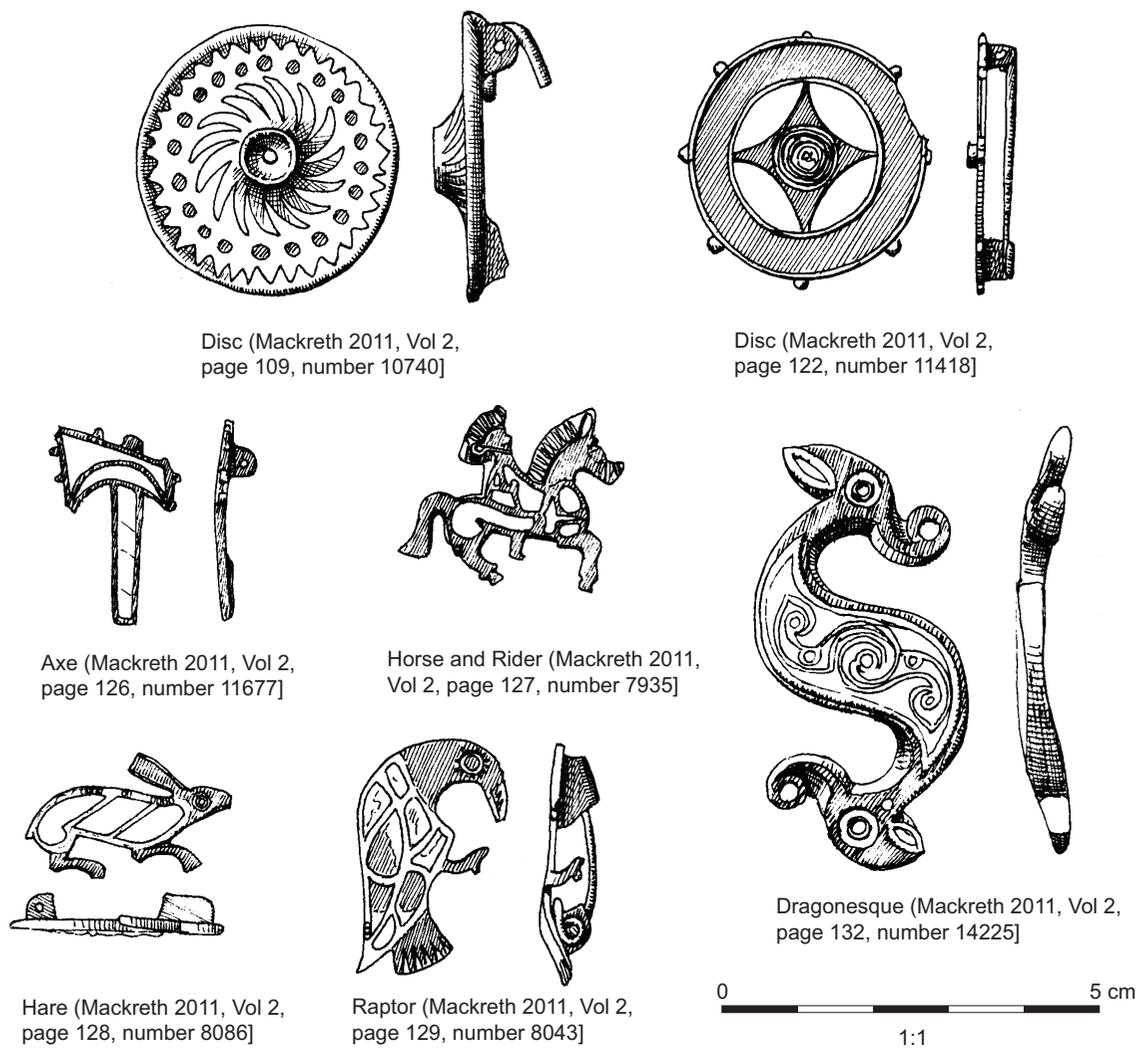


FIG. 2.8. A selection of plate brooches (all illustrated by Mackreth 2011)

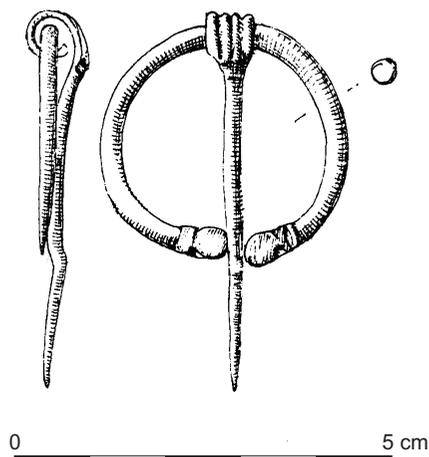


FIG. 2.9. Example of a penannular brooch (illustrated by Mackreth 2011, page 151, 12804). Scale 1:1

which needs recognition, and this concerns the distinction between Colchester brooches and Colchester Derivatives. This is particularly acute because both types are among the most common brooches recovered from the south and east of the

province, and because the two types are within separate groups – the one-piece Colchesters falling in Group A, and the two-piece derivatives in Group B. Where brooches were described in a report as being of Colchester Derivative type they would have been entered into the relevant box. However, often, two-piece Colchester brooches are described in various ways – sometimes using simple terms such as being of ‘Colchester type’, sometimes as a ‘Two-Piece Colchester’, sometimes as a ‘Colchester Type B’. Given that only one member of the Rural Settlement Project team had a background in the study of artefacts, this lack of standardisation in reports has undoubtedly resulted in inconsistencies in the data, and it is evident that the ‘Colchester’ brooch group contains many brooches that should in fact have been placed in the ‘Colchester Derivative’ category. This means, of course, that the Group A brooches are likely to be somewhat inflated, while the Group B brooches may be somewhat under-represented. A random check of several reports has confirmed this. For instance, what appears to be a two-piece

Colchester Derivative brooch with a Polden Hill spring mechanism, illustrated in the site report for Tolpuddle Ball, Dorset, was identified in the finds report as being of ‘Colchester Type’, dated to the first half of the first century A.D. (Loader 1999, 102), and used as dating evidence to suggest that a burial was late Iron Age in date. This was included under the ‘Colchester’ category on the project database, and thus is included in brooches of Group A.

The issue is difficult to compensate for, but as Colchester Derivative brooches are significantly more common than one-piece Colchesters, with a ratio approaching 2:1 (even without correction of the misidentified examples), both Colchesters and Colchester Derivatives have been included in the ‘Colchester Derivative’ group. Inevitably, this has the potential to have a strong impact on the proportion of Iron Age types in each assemblage, and in the southern project region, for example, if all of those recorded as Colchesters were genuine one-piece Colchester brooches, removing them and placing them in Group B would reduce the number of Group A brooches from 742 examples to 578 – a reduction of 22 per cent. The likelihood is that several of these brooches were one-piece Colchesters, yet as the extent of the issue is unknown, it has been deemed best to accept that there is likely to be some bias against the Iron Age types in Group A, rather than to attempt to ‘correct’ for the issue statistically. The potential impact of this methodological issue is assessed in each of the case studies below, where testing has determined the difference that moving the Colchesters from one group to another makes on the overall patterns.

The issue is factored in to the interpretative discussions in each of the regional discussions where relevant below, particularly where Colchester brooches are most widespread (in the South, the East and the Central Belt regions).

Although the main method of brooch analysis has been to compare brooches by basic groups, the principal types of brooch in use are discussed in the text in each of the regional case studies, as the different types favoured in each region have the potential to provide some insights into regional variations in dress, and, perhaps, cultural and social attitudes. In broad regional terms the following analysis, as would be expected, for the most part supports the patterns recently presented by Cool and Baxter (2016). However, the principal significance of the following analysis lies in its presentation of the social distribution of the seven groups of brooches across different site types. Most brooch studies have a firm emphasis on typology and chronology, whereas this approach allows us to develop a considerably more nuanced understanding of the ways that brooches were used by different sets of people in the countryside of Roman Britain.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE SOUTH REGION

Objects associated with personal display are very unevenly distributed across site types in the South region (FIG. 2.10). There are too few open farmsteads from the region to consider by percentages so these are omitted from FIG. 2.10, but it is fair to say that objects associated with personal adornment are in general infrequent finds

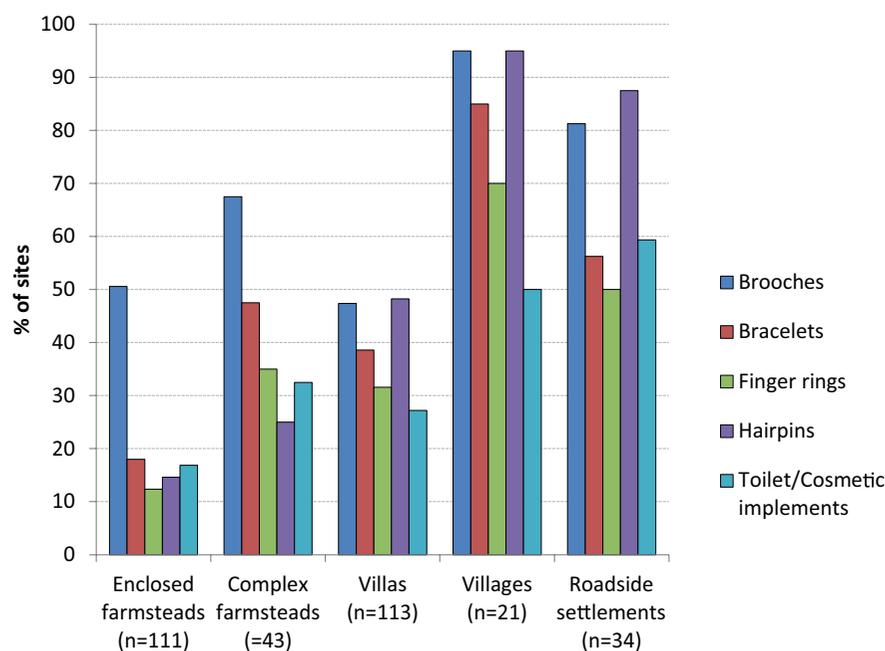


FIG. 2.10. Representation of personal display equipment in the South region by site type (n=no. of sites)

from these site types. Enclosed farmsteads are, on the whole, considerably less well represented by most types of dress accessory than the other site types, though they are reasonably well represented by brooches, which were recovered from 50 per cent of sites – more than at villas (likely reasons for this are discussed below, p. 16). Brooches are also well represented at all other site-types in the South, yet at these other types of site bracelets, finger rings, hairpins and toilet equipment are substantially more common than at enclosed farmsteads. The nucleated sites, roadside settlements and villages stand out over all other site-types, including villas, in terms of the frequency of most objects of personal adornment. This may partially reflect the size of some of these settlements – greater populations meant more people using objects, and therefore more opportunities for them to be lost and recovered during archaeological intervention – yet it is also likely to reflect a situation where the increased population sizes at some of these settlements meant that regular interaction with others in larger communities made presenting the self in particular ways more desirable. The recovery, for instance, of toilet equipment at 50 per cent of villages and nearly 60 per cent of roadside settlements, suggests that personal grooming was of particular importance for the occupants of and/or visitors to these settlement types. The emphasis that many of these sites had on industry and production, with many likely serving as local market centres, suggests that they were places to go to and, importantly, to be seen at.

While villas in the South do not stand out as being especially well represented by most objects of personal adornment compared with complex farmsteads, they are substantially better represented by hairpins (48 per cent compared with 25 per cent of complex farmsteads), and some villas have yielded exceptionally large groups of hairpins (e.g. Barton Field, Tarrant Hinton, Dorset; Graham 2006). Some of this patterning may be due to chronological considerations, with many hairpin types being late Roman in date, and therefore falling within the main *floruit* of villa use. However, the role of hairpins as an important indicator of status is now recognised (Eckardt 2014, 174), and the phenomenon is also likely to reflect the wealth and status of villa occupants, perhaps indicating a situation where elite females had more leisure time to allow the creation of the types of elaborate hairstyles that can be recognised in surviving busts from across the Roman Empire (and as have convincingly been re-created, using hairpins and needles, by Stephens 2008). The increased frequency of hairpins may also reflect large numbers of women and girls at villa sites generally, where they would have been required to

perform the various roles, as slaves or servants, associated with the daily upkeep of the villa and perhaps as attendants to elite women. The large numbers of spindlewhorls recovered from some villas (see Brindle and Lodwick 2017, 226–8) may also suggest groups of females at some of these sites, as spinning was a predominantly female activity (e.g. Wild 2002, 8; Hersch 2010; Cool 2010, 274–6; 2016, 408).

BROOCH USE IN THE SOUTH

Brooches were recovered from 35 per cent of all sites in the database from the South region, making it among the best represented regions in the province for brooches at rural sites. Considering all brooches from all sites recorded in the project database together first, it is immediately apparent that brooches of the late Iron Age and the early Roman period (Groups A and B) form a large proportion of all brooch types from the region (FIG. 2.11). We must remember that the Group B brooches inevitably contain some one-piece Colchesters, and so the Group A brooches are probably more important than they seem. Certainly, however, Group A and B brooches are the most important types, with a distinct reduction for Group C onwards. We must also remember the potentially very long use-life of brooches demonstrated by Cool and Baxter (2016). While Group C brooches – the Trumpets, Headstuds, Developed T-shaped type and their derivatives – emerged slightly later than those in Group B, in the latter part of the first century A.D., many types in both groups appear to have continued in use long into the second century A.D., and thus had the potential to be in use at the same time. The dominance of Group B brooches over those in Group C may therefore say a good deal about regional preference regarding particular brooch forms.

Plate brooches and penannular brooches account for very small proportions of the brooches from the region, at just 10 per cent and 7 per cent respectively. It seems clear then that brooch use was at its height in the South during the late Iron Age and early decades following the Roman conquest, and this accords well with the first-century A.D. peak in brooch use, at around A.D. 60, recognised by Cool and Baxter for their southern region (Cool and Baxter 2016, 85). Brooches were an important aspect of dress for much of the population in the South during the late Iron Age and early Roman periods.

Given that there is wide variation in the chronologies of different types of Roman rural settlements, it is scarcely surprising that the broad pattern for brooch-use in the South is reflected in the types of brooches recovered from different site types. FIGURE 2.12 shows the variation in the types

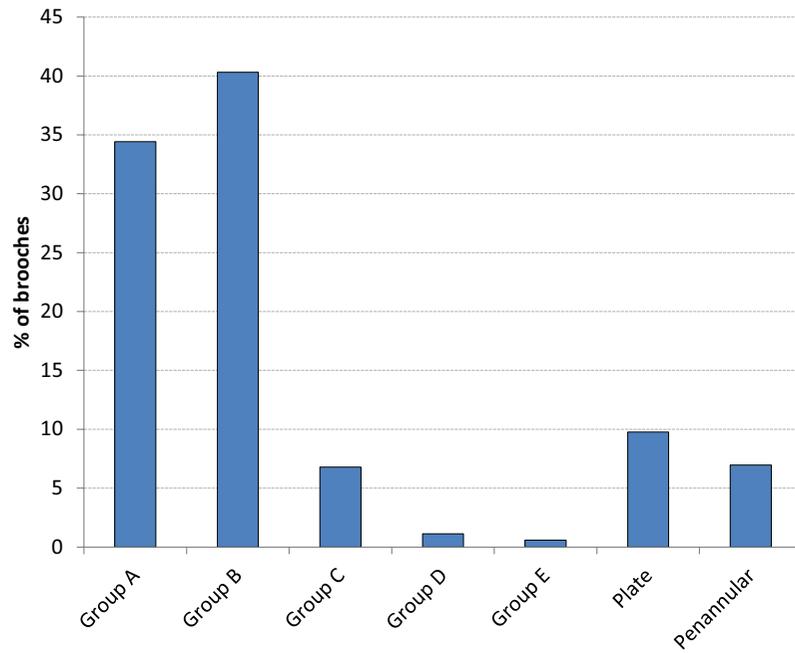


FIG. 2.11. Percentages of brooches from each group in the South region (total no. brooches=1679)

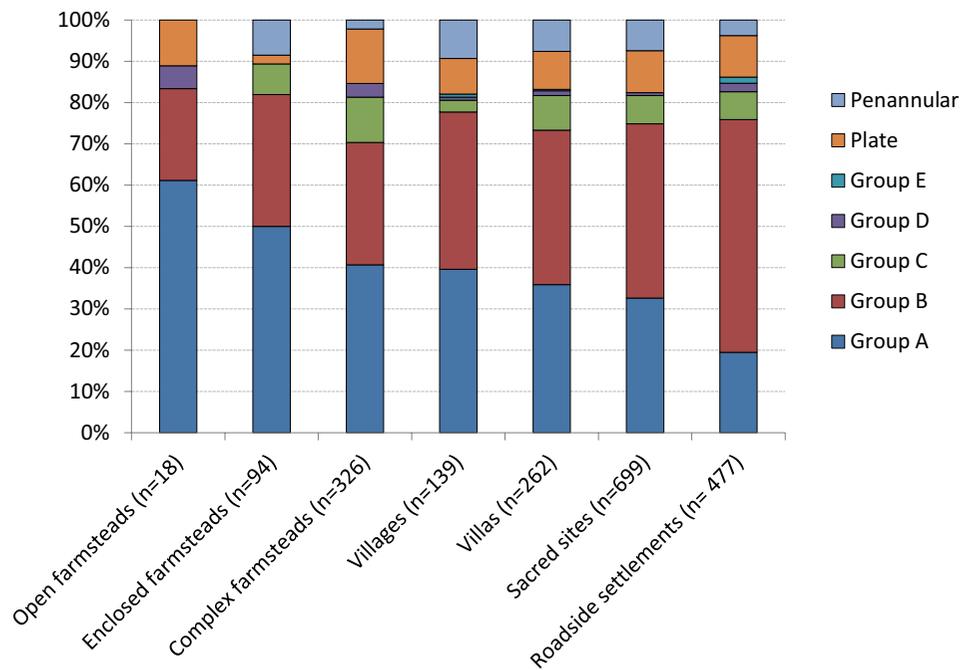


FIG. 2.12. Percentages of each brooch group from main site types in the South region (n=no. brooches from site type)

of brooch from the main site types. Brooches are less common finds in general at open and enclosed farmsteads than at many other types of site, and where they are recovered, those of Group A dominate. Although a range of brooch types are included in this broad group, they are dominated by the various types of Iron Age British La Tène III brooches, especially Nauheim Derivatives. Viewed as a proportion of all brooches from complex farmsteads, Group A brooches appear to be the most common, although this is partly

accounted for by a small number of these sites producing quite large assemblages of these brooches (e.g. Barksbury Camp, Andover, Hampshire: Wainwright and Davies 1995; Ellis and Rawlings 2001). In terms of their representation across settlements, Group B brooches are the most widely encountered (FIG. 2.13). Complex farmsteads are also considerably better represented by brooches of Group C (particularly Developed T-shaped brooches and Trumpet brooches) and plate brooches than enclosed farmsteads, whereas

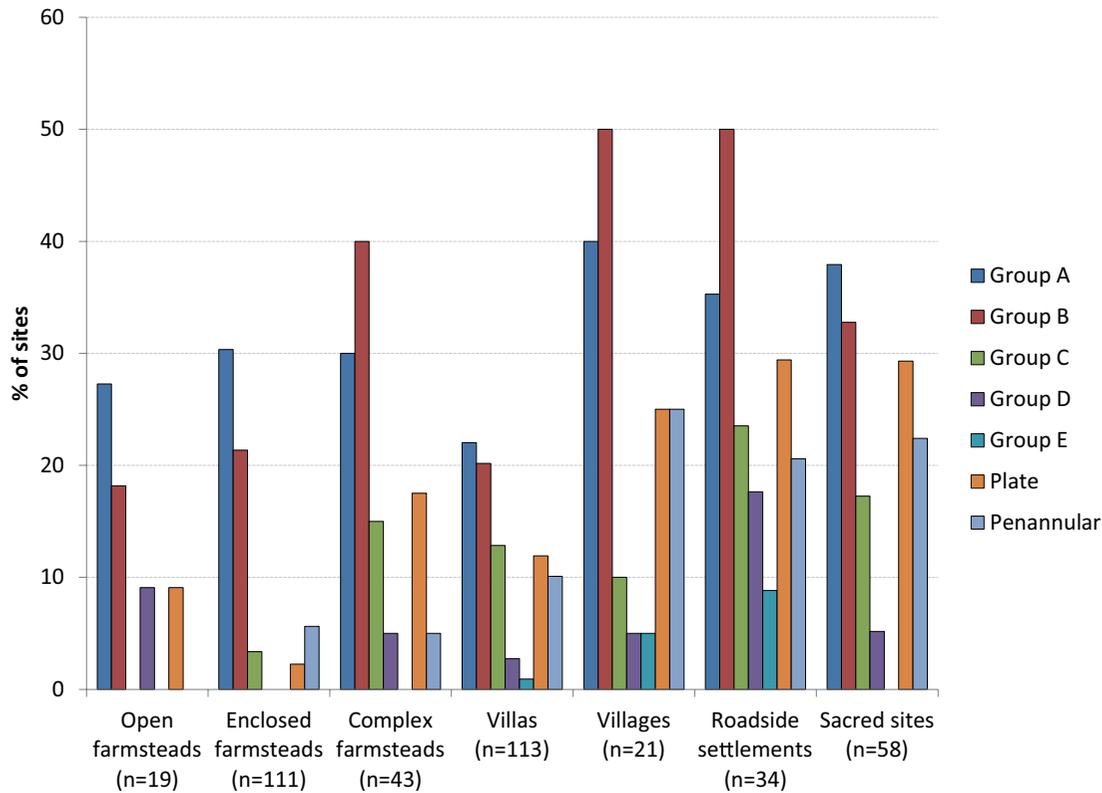


FIG. 2.13. Representation of brooch groups from main site types in the South region (n=no. of sites)

enclosed farmsteads are somewhat better represented by brooches of penannular form.

Group B brooches make up much more sizeable components of the assemblages at villages, villas, sacred sites and roadside settlements, notably so at the last (FIGS 2.12 and 2.13). This, in large part, is likely to reflect the chronology of these types of site. While some have yielded evidence for Iron Age occupation, the majority of roadside settlements in the South appear to have been post-conquest in date (Allen 2016a, 97–8), and most, if not all, were therefore occupied at the point when brooch-use in the south was at its *floruit*. The fact that these sites are also well represented by Group A brooches is not necessarily because they were in existence prior to the conquest (although some were), but rather that many of the brooches in Group A had long periods of use, which continued well into the second half of the first century A.D. (Bayley and Butcher 2004; Mackreth 2011; Cool and Baxter 2016). Compared with the other site types, villas are the least well represented by all brooch types, primarily reflecting the fact that, although many villas in the east of the region were early foundations, and several developed out of Iron Age and/or early Roman farmsteads, many others, particularly in the west of the region, were established during the late Roman period (Allen 2016a, 90–7), and were therefore not occupied during the peak period of brooch use.

It is notable that Group B brooches are far more regularly recovered from complex farmsteads than either enclosed farmsteads or villas (FIG. 2.13). Although comparison of Groups A and B require caution owing to the issues of distinguishing between one-piece Colchester brooches and the two-piece Colchester Derivatives, it seems unlikely that the difference between the site types has been caused by this, as all should suffer from a similar bias towards brooches of Group B. The general scarcity of these types of brooch at villas is probably a result of the same chronological factors referred to above. However, there is a distinct difference between enclosed farmsteads and complex farmsteads that seems less likely to be accounted for by site chronology, and it is worth considering this in some detail.

Although there is a gradual reduction in the number of enclosed farmsteads in use over time in the South, these farmsteads remained the dominant type of rural settlement in this region until the late Roman period (Allen 2016a, 84). While some enclosed farmsteads did go out of use at around the time of the Roman conquest, around 80 per cent continued into the second half of the first century, and nearly 70 per cent remained occupied during the first half of the second century. Even if we exclude the enclosed farmsteads that were abandoned during the first century A.D., and which might therefore be

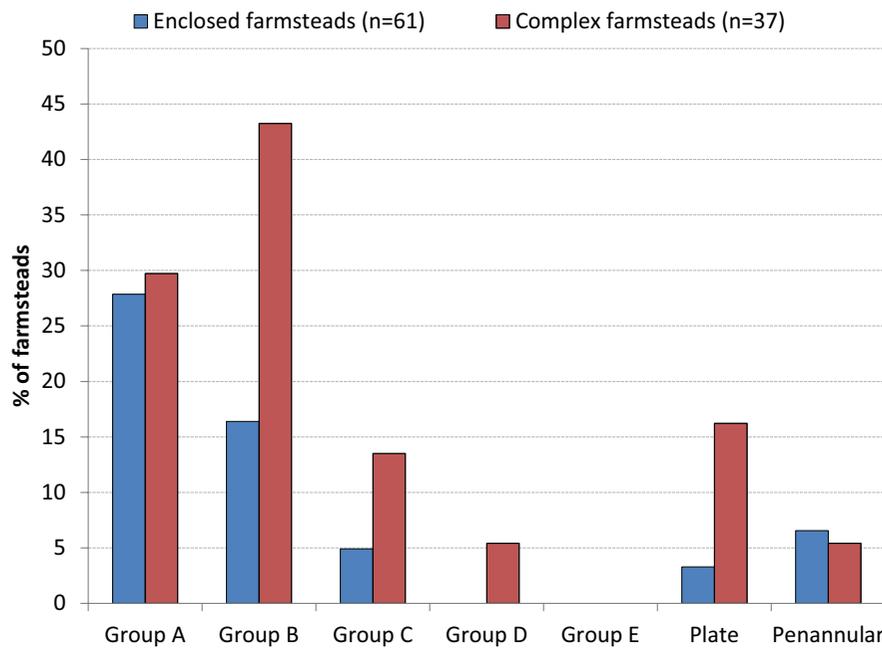


FIG. 2.14. Representation of brooch groups from enclosed and complex farmsteads from the South region occupied to at least A.D. 150 (n=no. of sites)

precluded on grounds of dating from receiving the newer brooches that emerged in the decades following the conquest, there is still a stark contrast between enclosed farmsteads and those of complex form (FIG. 2.14). While complex farmsteads see a large increase in the number of brooches lost, enclosed farmsteads see a reduction, and although complex farmsteads are better represented by all types of brooch than enclosed farmsteads (except penannulars), the distinctions are most stark for the Group B types and plate brooches. Given that all sites in the sample were occupied well into the second century A.D. there seems little chronological reason for them all not to have acquired these brooches.

If chronology is not the principal factor, then this pattern alludes to some important distinctions between the inhabitants of these different types of rural settlement in the south. One factor may have been related to changes in the ways that brooches were marketed, with differential access to the new brooch types. Indeed, in their metallurgical analysis of the composition of brooches, Bayley and Butcher recognised major technological changes, with a shift from the brass of the first half of the first century A.D. to leaded bronze during the middle part of that century (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 207). This change in composition was associated with an important technological development, from one-piece brooches of wrought metal to two-piece brooches that could now be cast, using what was probably a cheaper and more readily available alloy (*ibid.*). Although direct evidence for manufacture is usually lacking, it

seems likely that such technological changes were most widespread at towns and other newly emerging sites on the road network. Within the South region, for instance, the roadside settlement and religious complex at Springhead, Kent, has produced possible evidence for the production of Colchester Derivative brooches (*ibid.*, 37, table 11; Penn 1957, 70). Such sites had large populations who appear to have embraced fashions that required the use of brooches more than ever before. This produced a greater demand for brooches, and the change in alloy and increased use of casting seems likely to be a response to the increasing popularity of brooches for people at nucleated settlements, and for those who frequented these sites most often.

If markets at towns and roadside settlements became the places where new brooch types were typically acquired, this may have meant that there were more limited opportunities to acquire them for those who visited these sites less frequently. That the occupants of complex farmsteads were in general far more closely integrated with the new markets than those at enclosed farmsteads is suggested by a number of sets of proxy evidence. For instance, imported ceramics are considerably more common at complex farmsteads, with amphora sherds present at 70 per cent of these sites, compared with 22 per cent of enclosed farmsteads, while samian occurs at 65 per cent and 34 per cent of the different farmstead types respectively. Coins are also much less frequently recovered from enclosed farmsteads than those of complex form (see Brindle 2017a). The greater

association of features interpreted as stock enclosures with complex farmsteads (65 per cent compared with 21 per cent at enclosed farmsteads) might imply higher numbers of livestock, while corndryers (28 per cent compared with 12 per cent) and pottery kilns (15 per cent compared with 6 per cent) also imply a greater level of surplus productivity for complex farmsteads. Any such surplus may have contributed to the increased wealth that facilitated the acquisition of new types of clothing and their fasteners. The need to market surplus produce is also likely to have led to increased opportunities for social interaction with a wider range of people, making the expression of self to others through appearance all the more important for the occupants of complex farmsteads. This may also be the reason for the low frequency of other objects of personal adornment at enclosed farmsteads, as shown in FIG. 2.10. If the occupants of most enclosed farmsteads were self-sufficient peasants, they may have had less reason to visit markets held at roadside settlements and towns, and therefore less desire or need to present themselves in the sorts of ways that were becoming socially prescribed at nucleated settlements.

As brooches (and indeed bracelets, finger rings and hairpins) could be a highly visible element of one's dress, and their display projected messages about their wearer's identity and status (e.g. Jundi and Hill 1998), it seems likely that their increased frequency at complex farmsteads reflects a greater degree of interaction with others. The greater representation of plate brooches may also be important in this regard. As discussed above, the utilitarian value of plate brooches has been questioned (Allason-Jones 2014) and their increased frequency at complex farmsteads suggests that people here had the desire and means to wear brooches that may not have functioned primarily as pins to secure clothing, but which carried decorative patterns (and possibly some ideological messages), and which, therefore, said something about wealth and status, where the occupants of most enclosed farmsteads did not. We cannot easily know whether the occupants of enclosed farmsteads coveted these new aspects of fashion but could not generally afford them, whether they seldom had the opportunities to acquire them, or whether they took active decisions to eschew the newer types of brooch and other objects due to an inherently greater level of cultural conservatism and adherence to pre-conquest traditions of personal display. The three scenarios may all have been related. Although the new types of cast bow brooch were in general of a similar shape to those of wrought metal, and might at first glance appear not to be substantially different, the change in alloy composition may

also have meant that they had quite distinctive appearances – brass being yellow, and bronze varying shades of brown (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 16). The increased use of enamelling as a method of decoration for brooches during the late first and second centuries certainly indicates that colour was an important attribute of brooches, and there has been increasing recognition that the colour of an object could be of considerable importance in the ancient world (e.g. Eckardt 2014, 94–6; Cool 2016, 415–16). Perhaps varying colours of these different types of brooches played a part in marking people out as different.

Whether or not this is the case, given the lower frequency of brooches in general at enclosed farmsteads it is likely that the very act of wearing a brooch of any type, and, perhaps more importantly, the changes in clothing styles that this might reflect, were in themselves an indication of the need to mark one's social identity in particular ways. Perhaps brooches were increasingly being used in new ways by people living at complex farmsteads following the conquest. They may have been worn differently, with new types of clothing, as those who engaged more extensively with markets at towns and other nucleated sites were exposed to new ways of dressing, this also being reflected by the increased representation of bracelets, finger rings, hairpins and personal grooming equipment.

Cool (1990, 176) has suggested how the proliferation of hairpins during the second half of the first century A.D. may provide archaeological verification of Tacitus' comment concerning the increasing adoption of Roman fashions in Britain under Agricola (*Tac. Ag.* 21). The increased evidence for a wide range of dress accessories at complex farmsteads, including those that were uncommon in Britain during the late Iron Age – especially finger rings (cf. Johns 1996a, 41) and hairpins (Cool 1990; Eckardt 2014, 154) – provide us with insights into the types of site where populations were the most influenced by the new and emerging ways of dressing. Given the evidence from the broad groups of dress accessories and personal grooming equipment discussed here, there seems little doubt that many of the occupants of enclosed and complex farmsteads in the South would have been quite clearly distinguishable from one another by their appearance (or indeed, by their consumption of other types of material culture including pottery), and it is possible that they may have viewed one another as distinct social classes (discussed further below, p. 44).

A final point to make concerns the use of brooches at sacred sites in the South, with some such sites having exceptionally large brooch assemblages. There has long been recognition that

some types of brooch, particularly plate brooches, are associated with sacred sites and that some may have had associations with specific deities (e.g. Ferris 1986; 2012, 35–9; Johns 1995; Simpson and Blance 1998; Eckardt 2005; Crummy 2007; Allason-Jones 2014; see also Ch. 5). Bow brooches, too, appear often to have been selected as votive objects, with over 200 brooches, of a wide range of types, being recovered from the religious complex at Springhead, Kent, many seemingly deposited as votives at the sacred springs and temple (Biddulph *et al.* 2011). The religious sites at Cold Kitchen Hill, Wiltshire (Nan Kivell 1927; 1929), and Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset (Leech 1986), are noteworthy for having yielded a number of Horse-and-Rider brooches, a type with a well-recognised religious association (Ferris 1986; 2012, 35–9; Johns 1995; Eckardt 2005; 2014, 132; Fillery-Travis 2012, 158), and these are a feature of other probable religious sites in this part of the region (Brindle 2014, 42).

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE EAST REGION

There is, to a certain extent, a similar social hierarchy in terms of the distribution of dress accessories and grooming equipment in the East region as in the South (FIG. 2.15), although the distinctions between different classes of rural site are considerably less marked. Open farmsteads are too poorly represented for percentages to be of

value, but again, those in the East seem often to be poorly represented by dress accessories, though brooches are reasonably common, present at three of the four examples. Enclosed farmsteads are less well represented by all object types than the other site types, yet there appears to be far less of a distinction between these and complex farmsteads than in the South. Complex farmsteads are also better represented by some types of object than the equivalent sites in the South, especially hairpins (59 per cent of sites compared with 25 per cent) and personal grooming equipment (53 per cent compared with 33 per cent). The sample sizes are small in the East, however, and whether this reflects a genuinely greater level of investment in personal display (at least that which is archaeologically visible) for occupants of both enclosed and complex farmsteads in the East than in the South, or whether it is a factor created by the small sample sizes (as well, perhaps, as increased metal-detector use during excavations) is slightly unclear. It is, however, of note that settlements in the East do appear to be represented by substantially greater quantities of material culture in general than other regions (see Smith 2016c, 235–7; and discussed further below), and there may have been differing, perhaps very long-lived, attitudes towards personal display, which meant that more of the rural population in this region were receptive to, and had access to and the means to acquire, objects that allowed presentation of the self in particular ways.

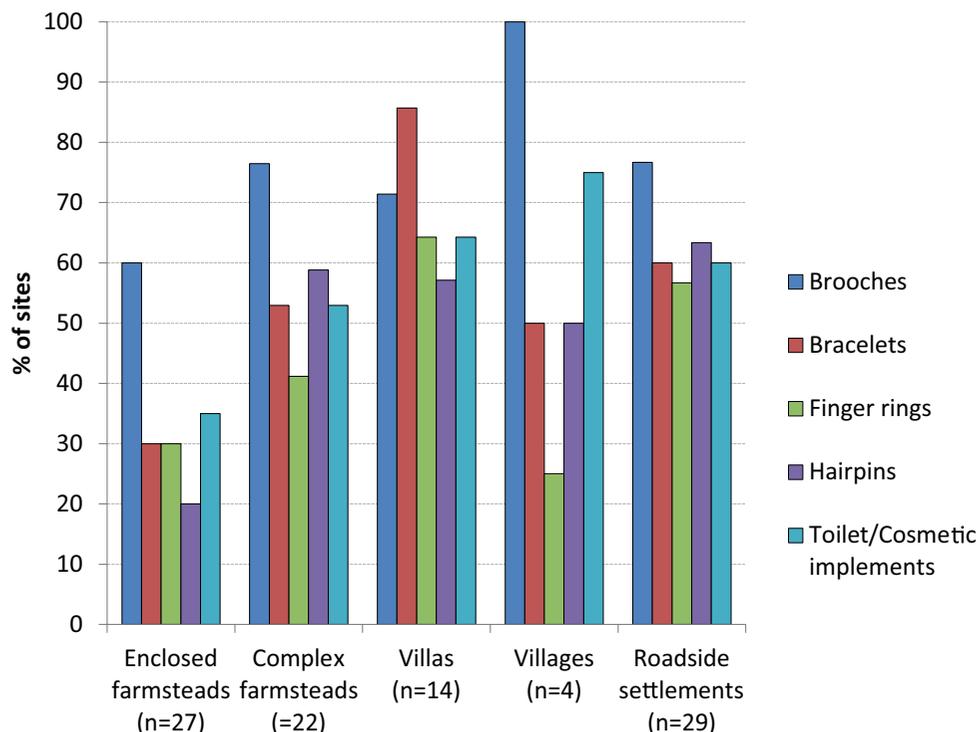


FIG. 2.15. Representation of personal display equipment in the East region by site type (n=no. of sites)

BROOCH USE IN THE EAST

Brooches were found at *c.* 50 per cent of sites recorded on the project database for the East region, making it the most well-populated region in terms of brooches. In common with the South, rural sites are totally dominated by brooches of Groups A and B, of late Iron Age and early Roman date, and those from the other groups are comparatively scarce (FIG. 2.16). Like the South, Group A brooches are dominated by simple one-piece La Tène III variants, especially Nauheim Derivatives. Langton Down and Thistle/Rosette brooches are reasonably well represented, although they are concentrated in roadside settlements and are seldom recovered from non-nucleated settlements. It is important to note that one-piece Colchester brooches are common in this region – indeed there is evidence for their manufacture at the roadside settlement at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 122) – and their inclusion with the Colchester Derivatives in Group B has undoubtedly created a bias against those of Group A. If all brooches recorded as Colchesters on the project database were indeed the earlier one-piece types, then the Iron Age types would overtake those in Group B. It may therefore be safest to regard Groups A and B as being of broadly comparable frequency in general in this region. Brooches of Group B are overwhelmingly dominated by Colchester Derivatives, even if the uncertain Colchesters are excluded. Less common, though present in some numbers, are the strip-bow brooches brought in by the Roman military – the Aucissa and Hod Hill types. As with the Langton Downs and Thistle/Rosettes, these are concentrated

at nucleated settlements on the road network. Other types are generally rare at rural settlements in the region. Together, Groups A and B totally dominate the assemblages from the East, suggesting a peak in brooch use in the first century A.D., which corresponds with the pattern recognised by Cool and Baxter (2016, 85), who identified a peak during the latter half of the first century A.D. for their East Anglia region.

As in the South region, there are some differences between the main rural site types (FIGS 2.17 and 2.18). All are dominated by brooches of Groups A and B, and, as noted, Group A are likely to be more common than they seem in the charts. Villas, however, are notably less-well represented by brooches of Group A. As in the South, this must relate to the chronology of the villas, and although not all are well understood, only around a quarter have produced evidence for occupation during the Iron Age, compared with, for instance, over half of complex farmsteads and nearly all enclosed farmsteads. Villas are, however, considerably better represented by both plate and penannular brooches than either type of farmstead, and the increased frequency of plate brooches in particular may be a mark of the wealth and status of villa occupants.

There is rather less evidence in the East for the strong distinction between enclosed and complex farmsteads when compared with the South, and this is also witnessed by some other types of material culture. For example, samian was recovered from every complex farmstead and 70 per cent of enclosed farmsteads, while amphora sherds were recovered from 59 per cent of complex

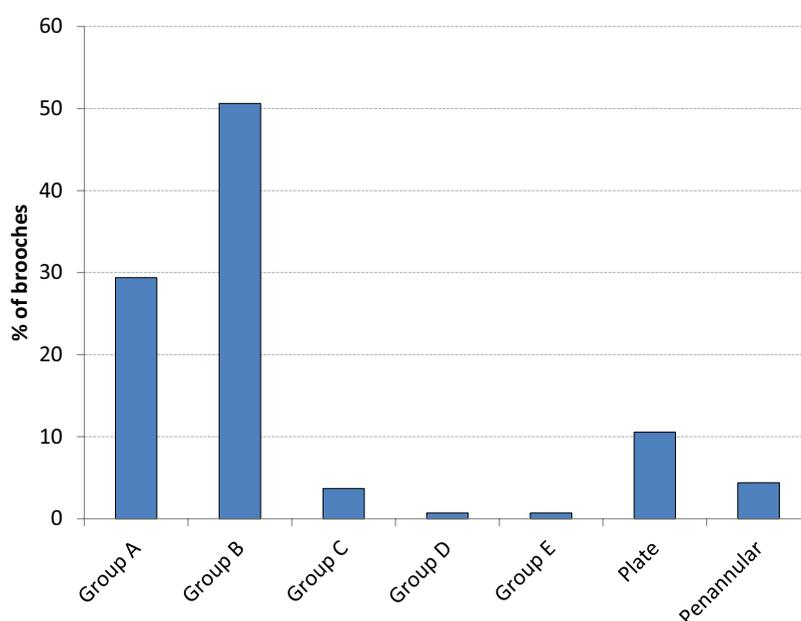


FIG. 2.16. Percentages of brooches from each group in the East region (total no. brooches=1280)

and 55 per cent of enclosed farmsteads. This might indicate wider access to material culture in general in the East, as well as a greater degree of cultural homogeneity for those occupying farmsteads of all types, reflected through broad similarities in the ways that people dressed.

A further striking aspect of the rural brooch assemblages in the East is the near total absence of brooches of Groups C, D and E at all types of farmsteads and villas. Roadside settlements, however, are far better represented by brooches of

Group C (predominantly Trumpet brooches and Headstuds), which occur at just over a quarter of these sites, although they nevertheless make up only a very small proportion of the total assemblages. The later Roman types – Groups D and E – are also exceptionally rare at these sites.

As with villas, roadside settlements stand out as being notably better represented by plate brooches than most other rural sites, and although they are far fewer in number than the late Iron Age and early Roman bow brooches, they have been

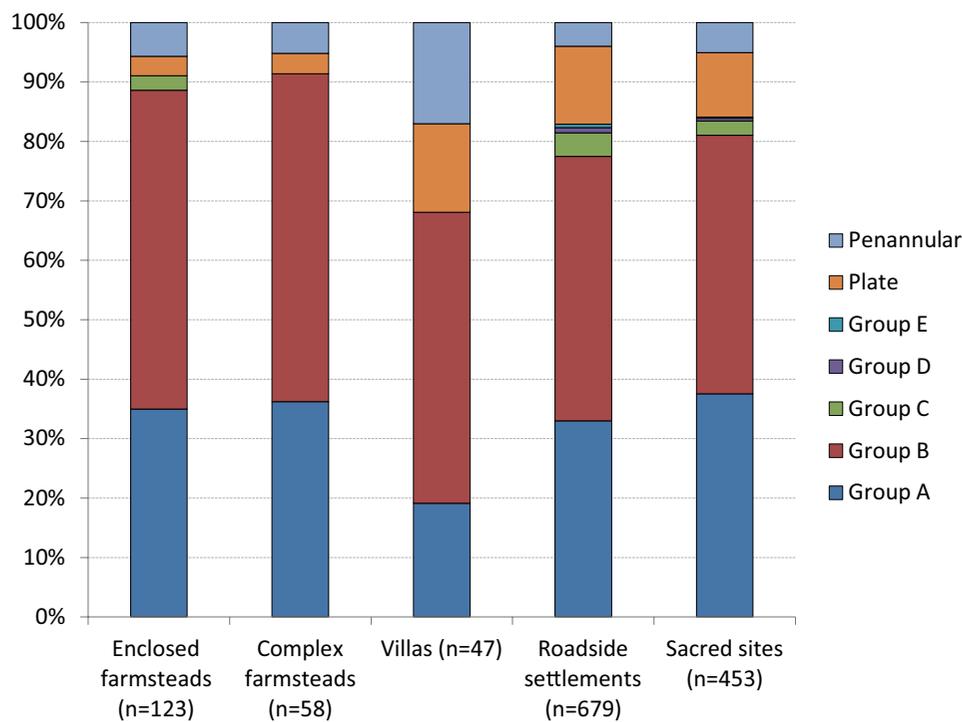


FIG. 2.17. Percentages of each brooch group from main site types in the East region (n=no. brooches from site type)

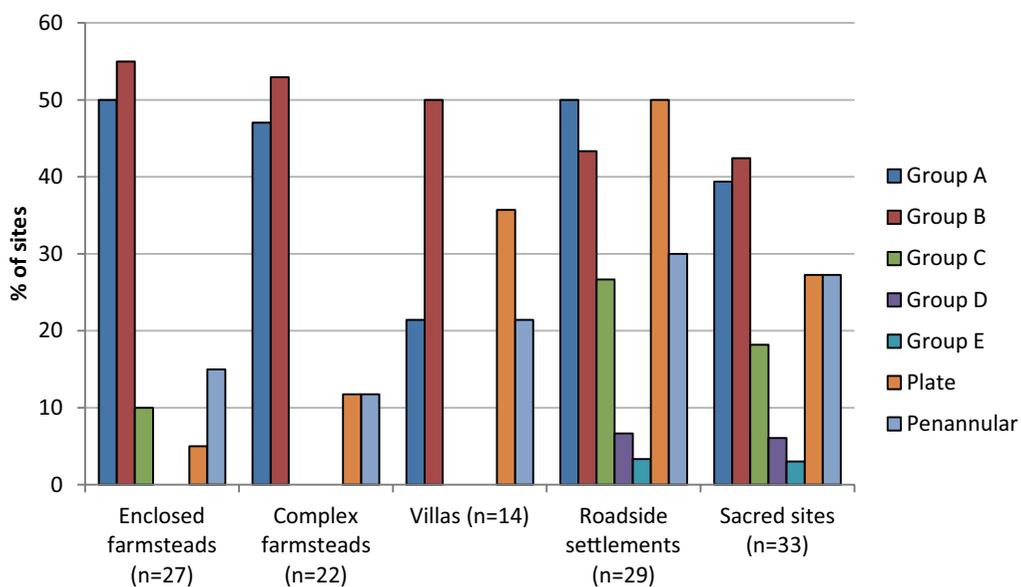


FIG. 2.18. Representation of brooch groups from main site types in the East region (n=no. of sites)

recovered from 50 per cent of these sites. This is likely to reflect several factors. First, roadside settlements, which by their very nature were situated on the major communications network, were no doubt visited by a wider range of people from different geographical areas and different social and cultural backgrounds to those occupying most farmsteads, as people passed through these settlements and stayed in them as they moved through the province. This in itself may account for the loss of a wider range of brooch types at these settlements, although, as a result, the permanent inhabitants of the roadside settlements themselves had a greater degree of exposure to both objects and ideas about how to dress in different ways. Some of the occupants of these settlements may have had the opportunity to acquire wealth through the provision of services to passing road-users by offering food, beverages and lodgings at taverns and inns, and may have chosen to display this through wearing more elaborate and colourful brooches.

A further factor is that several of the roadside settlements also acted as foci for religious activities, with a number containing shrines or Romano-Celtic temples and, as discussed above (p. 8), brooches were sometimes used as votive offerings. At the roadside settlement and shrine at Hockwold cum Wilton, Leylands Farm, Norfolk, for instance, the brooch assemblage was overwhelmingly dominated by plate brooches, and those from the shrine in particular were very distinctive, including circular plate brooches, a raptor clutching a hare and eight Horse-and-Rider brooches (Mackreth 1986, 61–7). At Hacheston, Suffolk, a roadside settlement without any clear structural evidence for a religious focus, the large brooch assemblage

(predominantly unstratified finds recovered by metal-detector users) included many plate brooches, a number of which were of zoomorphic and skeuomorphic form, suggesting ritual activity nearby, as noted in the brooch report for the site by Plouviez (2004, 107). Such roadside settlements evidently could serve as religious foci (see Ch. 5), and the use of brooches for particular religious purposes, whether deposited as votive offerings or worn as badges to declare an association with a particular divinity (or both), has the potential to have a strong influence on the brooch assemblage from a site.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE CENTRAL BELT REGION

The social distribution of dress accessories and personal grooming equipment in the Central Belt follows a similar pattern to the previous two regions, with nucleated sites (roadside settlements and villages) the best represented by all five groups of personal equipment (FIG. 2.19). Roadside settlements appear somewhat better represented by hairpins than villages, with some sites producing hundreds of examples (e.g. Wanborough, Wiltshire; Anderson *et al.* 2001), likely reflecting the role that some of these sites played as central places in the landscape, where people gathered. The profiles for complex farmsteads and villas are similar, although the former are quite substantially better represented by brooches, again reflecting differences in the chronology of many of these site types, with several villas developing only late in the Roman period (see Smith 2016d, 157–60), well beyond the peak period of brooch-use in the region (see below).

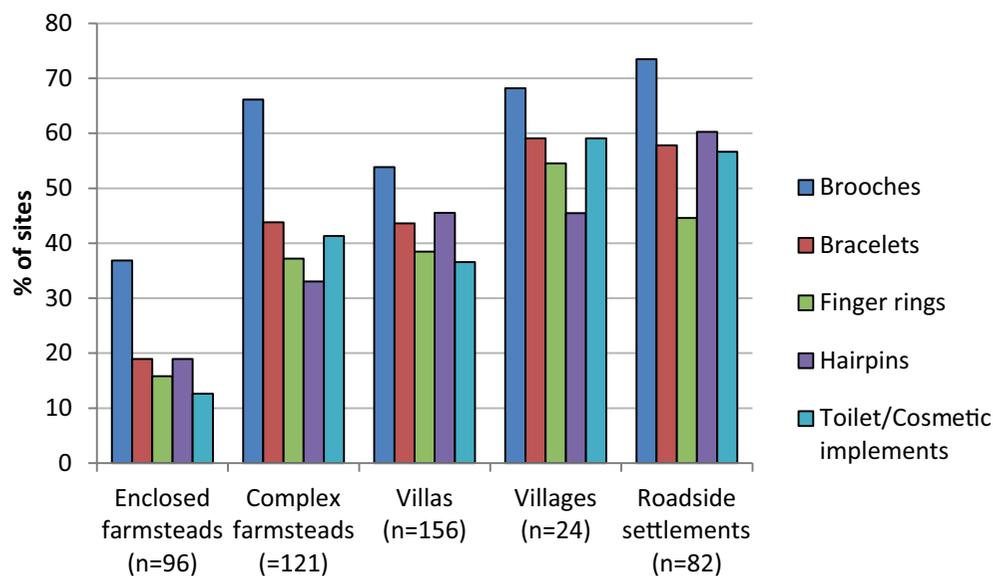


FIG. 2.19. Representation of personal display equipment in the Central Belt region by site type (n=no. of sites)

As in the South, villas are notably better represented by hairpins than complex farmsteads (46 per cent of sites compared with 33 per cent) – again, an indication of the status of the female occupants of these sites, as well as the possibility that they may have been served by personal female attendants. The generally low frequency of objects associated with personal display, apart from brooches, at enclosed (and open) farmsteads represents evidence that the occupants of these sites engaged with new market centres to a lesser extent than those occupying complex farmsteads or villas.

BROOCH USE IN THE CENTRAL BELT

A total of *c.* 40 per cent of sites in the project database for the Central Belt region had brooches, placing it between the East and the South in terms of brooch prevalence. Again, Groups A and B dominate, particularly Group B (FIG. 2.20), though the merging of Colchesters and Colchester Derivatives must bias against Group A, meaning that there is likely to have been less of a difference between the two groups than is suggested in the charts. This all indicates a peak in brooch use towards the end of the first century A.D., which is broadly in keeping with Cool and Baxter's observation (2016, 85), although their regions differed from the ones used here.

In terms of the composition of the two main groups, those of Group A are again dominated by one-piece La Tène III variants, especially Nauheim Derivatives, while one-piece Colchesters are also common. Less common, though nevertheless numerous, are brooches of Langton Down form,

and to a lesser extent Thistle/Rosette brooches and those that developed from them – the Aesica and their derivatives. Where these are found they are concentrated at roadside settlements, complex farmsteads and villas, and seldom at villages or enclosed farmsteads. Other Iron Age brooch types are uncommon. Group B is dominated by Colchester Derivatives (even without the potentially misidentified Colchesters), although in this region several other brooch types in Group B are very numerous, including over 340 Hod Hill brooches and 325 Polden Hills. The latter in particular have a strong focus on the west of the region, especially at nucleated roadside settlements, reflecting the core area of these brooches in the West Midlands (e.g. Bayley and Butcher 2004, 160). Over 100 examples of Aucissa brooches (or derivative strip-bow types such as the Bagendon) have been recorded, while Initial T-shaped brooches are known, but not especially common – where these occur there is an emphasis on the south-west of the region, reflecting the distribution of these types more generally (*ibid.*, 159).

The Central Belt stands out from both the South and the East for being notably better represented by brooches within Group C. These made up just 7 per cent of the brooches from the South and 4 per cent from the East, whereas in the Central Belt brooches in Group C account for 11 per cent of all brooches. The differences are subtle, but nevertheless represent a considerably stronger emphasis on the Central Belt area than in the areas to the south and east. This may indicate not only that their centres of production lay within the

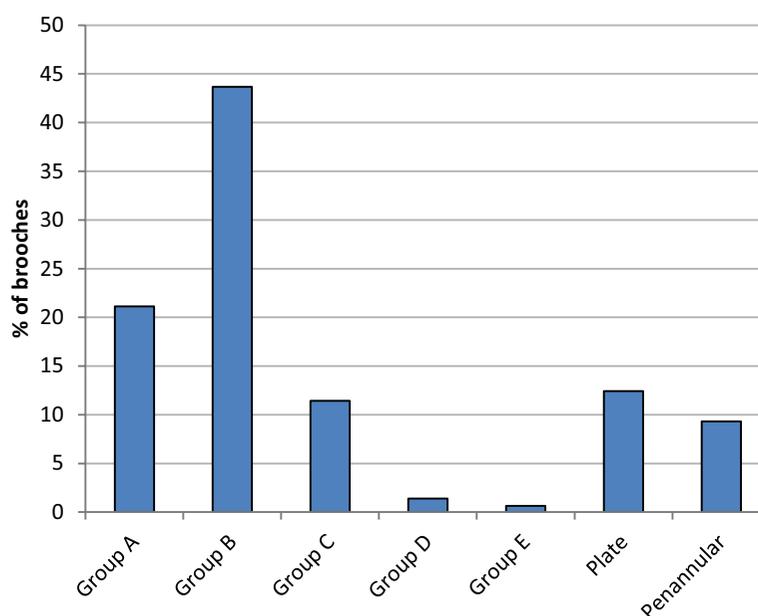


FIG. 2.20. Percentages of brooches from each group in the Central Belt region (total no. brooches=4212)

Central Belt, but also that these brooches were perhaps ‘badges’ of regional identity. Of the brooches in Group C, varieties of the Trumpet brooch are the most common, with 250 examples, followed by the Developed T-shaped type (which, as with the initial T-shaped type is focused on the south-west of the region), and a reasonably large number of Headstud brooches have been recorded. Other types, such as the Wroxeter, are encountered, though they are less frequent. The later types of bow brooch, Groups D and E, appear to be just as rare at rural sites in the Central Belt as they are in the South and East, although the region is somewhat better represented by both plate brooches and penannulars than either of the previous regions.

Like the South, the settlement pattern of the Central Belt is complex, with a range of different settlement types, and considerable sub-regional variation. Naturally, there is therefore variation in terms of the social distribution of different types of brooch (FIGS 2.21 and 2.22). As in the previous regions, there is a hierarchy that is repeated across each of the groups. For almost all groups sacred sites are the best represented, followed by the roadside settlements (several of which contained religious foci). Villages are, on the whole, better represented by brooches than all types of farmstead, and for the earliest brooch groups they

are also better represented than villas, although villas overtake villages from Group C onwards.

Part of the reason for the difference between site types is, as in the previous regions, chronological. As in the South, there is little doubt that the low incidence of early brooch types at villas, compared with complex farmsteads for instance, reflects the late foundation dates for many villas in the Central Belt, especially those in the Cotswold area (Smith 2016d, 160). Brooches of Group B considerably outnumber those of Group A at roadside settlements (even if all potential one-piece Colchesters were to be included in Group A), reflecting the fact that most of these sites developed in the post-conquest period, with many emerging during the second half of the first century A.D. (*ibid.*, 166). At enclosed farmsteads, Groups A and B are evenly matched, yet at all other site types there is a notable rise in brooches of Group B (and this distinction between enclosed farmsteads and the other site types only becomes *more* marked if Colchesters are placed in Group A rather than B).

As with the South, while the difference between enclosed farmsteads and the other sites may in part be chronological, there seems to be rather more to it. Although there is a 20 per cent reduction in the number of enclosed farmsteads occupied between the late Iron Age and the first

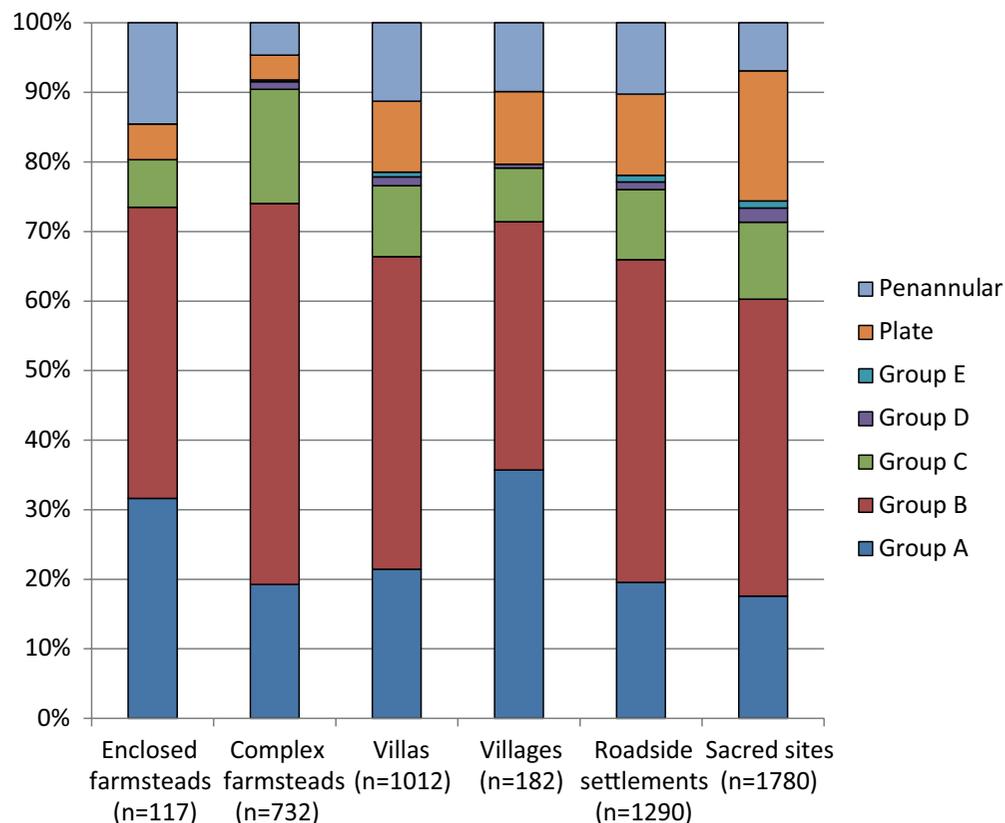


FIG. 2.21. Percentages of each brooch group from main site types in the Central Belt region (n=no. brooches from site type)

part of the second century A.D., the majority of late Iron Age enclosed farmsteads remained in use at this time. Filtering out all enclosed farmsteads that were abandoned prior to the second century, the difference between the enclosed and complex farmsteads is striking (FIG. 2.23). There appears to have been a fundamental difference between the two site types in terms of who was using the different types of brooch (which again does not alter significantly if all potential Colchester

one-piece brooches are included in Group A). As in the South, the rise in the use of the newer brooch types is most evident for those occupying site types that have greater evidence for engagement with markets at towns and nucleated settlements, and this corresponds with the social distribution of dress accessories more generally, shown in FIG. 2.19; it is fair to say that people at many enclosed and complex farmsteads looked different to one another.

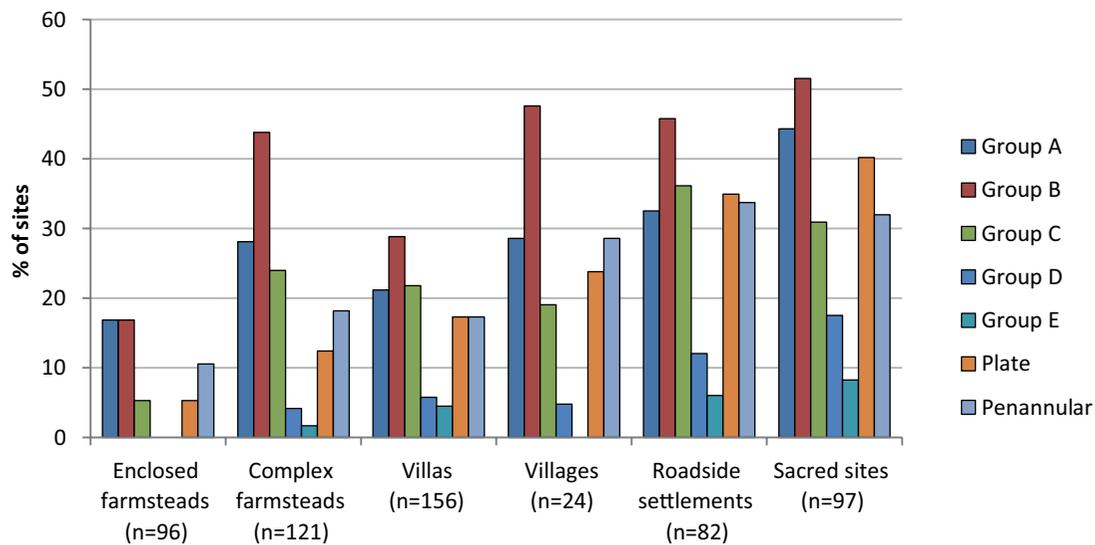


FIG. 2.22. Representation of brooch groups from main site types in the Central Belt region (n=no. of sites)

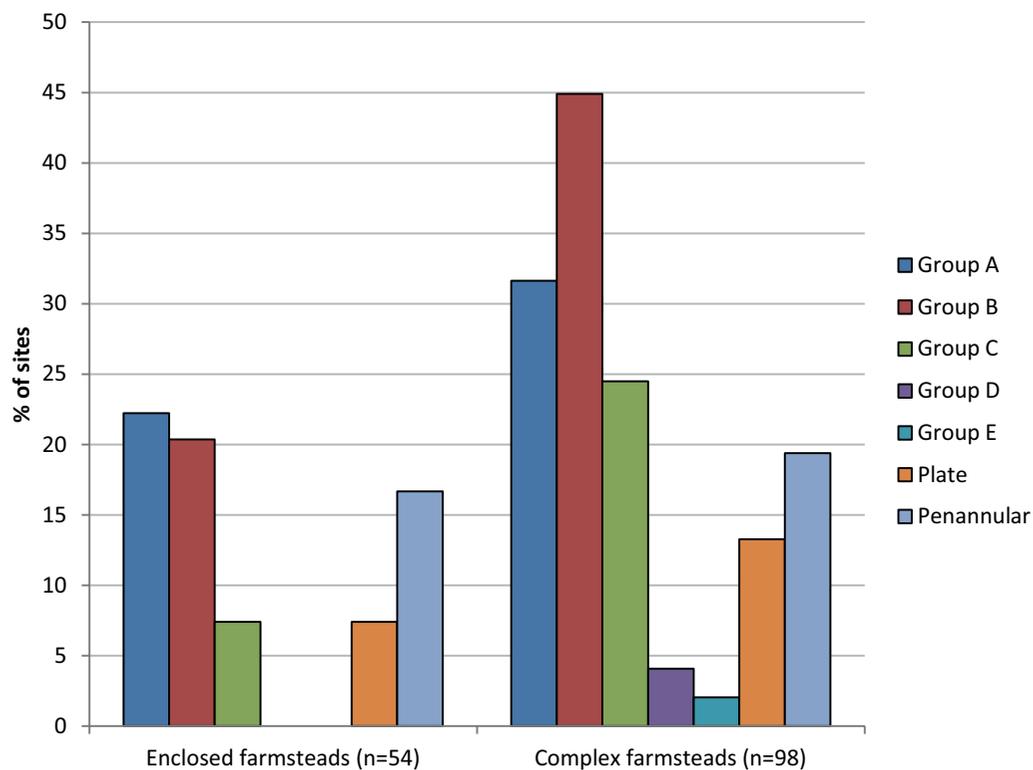


FIG. 2.23. Representation of brooch groups from enclosed and complex farmsteads in the Central Belt region occupied to at least A.D. 150 (n=no. of sites)

That sacred sites stand out above all others in terms of brooch loss in the Central Belt is likely to reflect both their role as hubs on the communication network, where people may have gathered for religious festivals, and that personal objects, including brooches, were often selected as votive offerings. While relatively high numbers of plate brooches are in general a feature of sites with a religious element, skeuomorphic and zoomorphic brooches have an exceptionally strong relationship with these sites – brooches depicting axes, shoes/sandals, daggers, chickens, fishes, ducks, dogs, hares and eagles are all represented, and appear to have had particular religious significance, although association with any particular deity is difficult (e.g. Ferris 2012, 35). As noted above (p. 19), Horse-and-Rider brooches also have a strong association with religious sites, being recovered from the Romano-Celtic temple sites at Woodeaton, Oxfordshire (Harding 1987), and Nettleton Scrubb, Wiltshire (Wedlake 1982), as well as shrines at Haddenham (Evans and Hodder 2006) and Stonea Grange (Jackson and Potter 1996), both in Cambridgeshire. Most noteworthy of all is the site at Bosworth Field, Sutton Cheney, Leicestershire, where around 100 Horse-and-Rider brooches were found (predominantly by metal-detector users), along with other skeuomorphic and zoomorphic plate brooches, many depicting axes, horses and hares, as well as a range of other types (Fillery-Travis 2012).

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE NORTH-EAST REGION

Again, the broad social hierarchy presented in the previous three regions is repeated, although there are some notable distinctions (FIG. 2.24). First, there is a greater difference between villas and

both types of farmstead in the North-East than in the South, East or Central Belt, with villas being much better represented by objects associated with personal display than farmsteads in general. This might suggest that a reduced proportion of the rural population in this region adopted new aspects of dress represented by brooches, bracelets, finger rings, hairpins and personal grooming equipment. This is part of a wider pattern here, there being in general a lack of evidence for economic integration between the rural population and those occupying urban and military sites in the region (Allen 2016b, 273–6).

A further striking aspect of the personal display equipment from the North-East is that, while most dress accessories are less widely distributed across rural sites than in other regions, objects in the bracelet category (which includes bracelets, armllets and bangles in a range of materials) occur at around the same frequency here as they do in the South, East or Central Belt. This may partly reflect the fact that, whereas objects such as finger rings and hairpins were for the most part introduced following the Roman conquest, arm jewellery had a long tradition in British prehistory (Johns 1996a, 108). In the North-East, jet or shale bangles were a form of object used during the late Iron Age, present at sites such as Great Chilton, Ferryhill (Jenkins 2013), and West House, Coxhoe (Haselgrove and Allon 1982), both County Durham, and Percy Rigg, Kildale, North Yorkshire (Close 1972), and it is possible that similar objects of wood, bone and antler were also more common, but are less likely to survive. Shale and jet arm jewellery continued in use into the Roman period, and is found at a number of rural sites in the region.

However, following the conquest there emerged in the region a new type of object, which was not widespread in the late Iron Age. While the types of

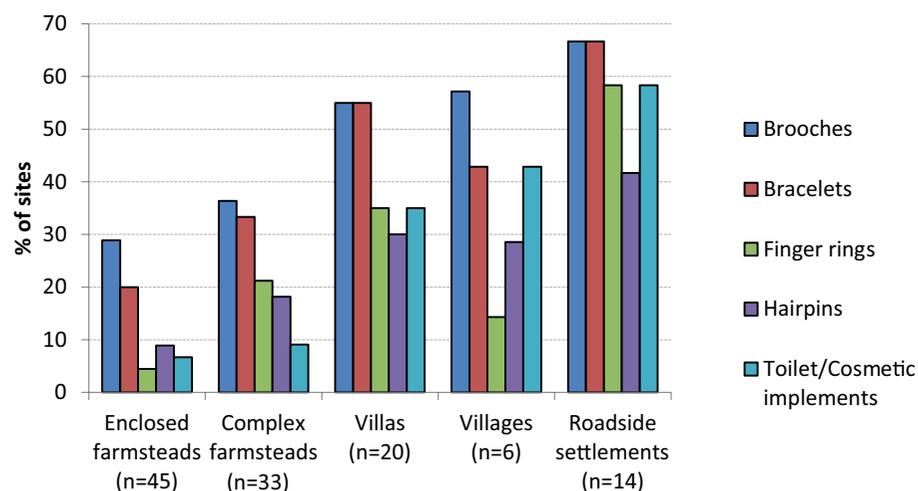


FIG. 2.24. Representation of personal display equipment in the North-East region by site type (n=no. of sites)

later Roman copper-alloy bracelet, which are far more common in the regions to the south, do sometimes occur, the North-East is especially well represented by glass bangles – a form of object that appears only to have developed in Britain from the time of the conquest (Kilbride-Jones 1938a; Stevenson 1956; 1976; Johns 1996a, 121; Price 1988; 2003, 91; Hunter 2016). Rare evidence for the manufacture of such glass bangles has been found at Thearne, near Beverley, East Riding of Yorkshire (Campbell 2008; Halkon 2013, 55). These objects are very rare at non-nucleated rural settlements in all regions other than the North-East and the North (discussed below). The function of glass bangles has been debated, and it is not clear that all were worn on the arms, or whether they were necessarily even worn by humans (Stevenson 1976, 53). Indeed, some have very small diameters, and Stevenson suggested that these may have been used as hair-rings or even horse fittings (*ibid.*, 50, 53). A ritual, apotropaic or magical function is also possible, as suggested by a group of objects including bangles from Cairnhill, Aberdeenshire (*ibid.*, 50), though this, of course does not preclude their use also as personal ornaments. Several glass bangles were

recovered from Victoria Cave, Settle, North Yorkshire (Dearne and Lord 1998), a site that has produced a finds assemblage suggestive of a distinct religious focus (see below, p. 31). Whatever their true function(s), glass bangles represent a distinctive type of object recovered at rural (as well as urban and military) settlements in the North-East, and in northern Britain more generally. Indeed, they are the single most commonly found type of object included in the bracelet category at farmsteads in the North-East, accounting for 38 per cent of all such artefacts from these sites. For comparison, in the Central Belt the project has recorded only two glass bangles from farmsteads (one from the unusually rich settlement at Claydon Pike, Gloucestershire (Miles *et al.* 2007), and the other from Sturton le Steeple, Nottinghamshire: Elliot 2004), representing just 0.4 per cent of the objects in the bracelet category recorded from farmsteads there.

The sub-regional distribution of farmsteads with glass bangles in the North-East is of particular note, focused as it is so clearly on the area to the north of the Humber (FIG. 2.25) – a distribution that continues into the North region and beyond into Scotland (Hunter 2016). This is indicative of

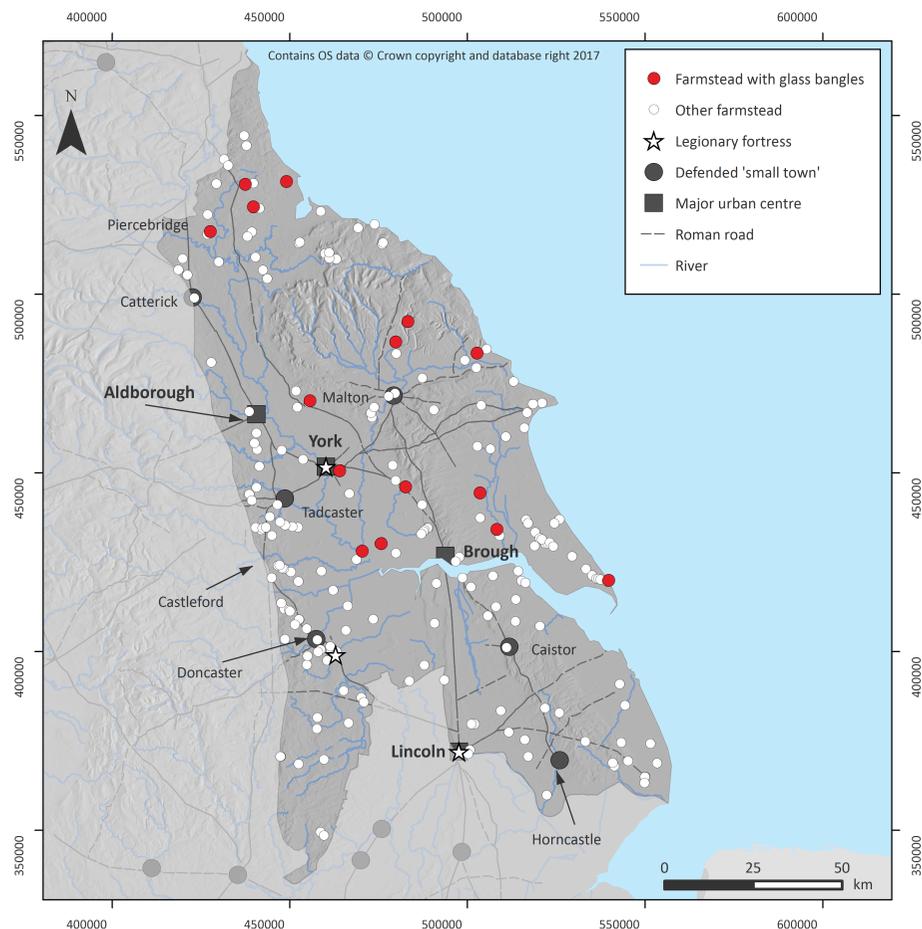


FIG. 2.25. Distribution of farmsteads with glass bangles in the North-East region

the regional development of a very distinctive type of object following the conquest, perhaps derived from the similar jet and shale objects used during the prehistoric period (Stevenson 1976, 50). The emphasis on the area north of the Humber may suggest that the river served as a boundary between groups of people with distinctive cultural identities. Traditionally, the rivers Humber and Ouse have been regarded as a boundary between the Parisi, who are thought to have occupied the area of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and the Corieltauvi, to the South (e.g. Halkon 2013). The distribution of glass bangles at rural sites may possibly be associated with 'tribal' differences in personal display (or other aspects of social practice that differed from the area south of the Humber), though, if so, their occurrence at rural sites across much of northern England and Scotland is suggestive of broad cultural affinities that transcend the hypothesised territories of different tribes in the north (e.g. Rivet 1958). Given that pre-Roman bracelets appear predominantly to have been of shale/jet in the region, it may have been that the newly abundant glass (brought in as vessels and other objects to supply the military sites) had particular qualities that made it an appropriate material for the construction of these objects, assuming, that is, that glass bangles and jet/shale bracelets were used for similar purposes. The importance that texture and colour had in terms of giving objects special status has increasingly been recognised (e.g. Eckardt 2014, 95). Given that jet and shale are believed to have held magical or apotropaic properties for many people in the ancient world (*ibid.*, 112, 124), the creation of similar types of objects from glass might be connected with the feel and appearance of glass objects, as well as the specialist knowledge required to work with the material, which may have imbued glass bangles with special, perhaps magical, properties.

BROOCH USE IN THE NORTH-EAST

Brooch use in the North-East was quite substantially lower than in the preceding regions, with brooches present at 24 per cent of sites, although it is still substantially higher than in regions further north and west, discussed below. The region is therefore an interface between areas where brooches were used most widely in the countryside and those where they were much less frequently worn.

The issue with the potentially misidentified Colchester/Colchester Derivative brooches is far less of a problem in this region, for the simple reason that there are so few examples of the former – placing the five Colchester brooches in with the Colchester Derivative group makes little

difference to the overall number of brooches in Groups A and B. Indeed, brooches in Groups A and B both make up a considerably lower proportion of brooches in the North-East than in any of the regions considered so far (FIG. 2.26), accounting for just 18 per cent and 17 per cent respectively. In the North-East the most common brooches are those in Group C (particularly Trumpet brooches, along with fewer Headstuds) and the penannulars, which both account for around 22 per cent of the total brooch assemblage. However, it is important to point out that while Group C bow brooches and penannular brooches are *relatively* more frequent in the North-East, this must be recognised as being a product of the general scarcity of brooches in Groups A and B. For instance, while Group C brooches are distributed across more settlements in the North-East than in the South and East, they occur at the same frequency as in the Central Belt – found at around 10 per cent of sites. Penannular brooches have a similar distribution across sites in the North-East (8 per cent of sites) as the South, East and Central Belt regions (6 to 10 per cent of sites). It is therefore the general dearth (but not total absence) of the brooch types that are so abundant in the south and east of the province – in particular the Nauheim Derivatives, Colchesters and Colchester Derivatives – which make the Group C brooches and penannulars seem so important in the North-East. The obvious implication here is that wearing brooches was not a fundamental part of dress for most people occupying the region during the late Iron Age. Based upon the date range of the brooches in Group C, brooch use appears to have become increasingly widespread during the late first to second century A.D., indicating that it was fundamentally a post-conquest phenomenon in this region. There are, however, exceptional sites, such as Dragonby, North Lincolnshire, which has all the hallmarks of an important power centre during the late Iron Age, and where late Iron Age types are very well represented (May 1996).

Whereas brooches, at least those in Groups A and B, were fairly widespread across all rural sites in the South, East and Central Belt, there is a far starker contrast in the North-East in terms of the sorts of sites where brooches occur (FIG. 2.27). When they are found they are chiefly recovered – in order of frequency – from military *vici* (not included in the charts in FIG. 2.27 as only four are in the project database), sacred sites, roadside settlements, villas and complex farmsteads, but hardly ever at enclosed farmsteads. Brooches of Group C (predominantly Trumpets) are rare at all types of farmstead, but much more common at the *vici*, villas, roadside settlements and sacred

sites. The implication is that, while those living at forts and their extramural settlements, towns and other nucleated settlements were adopting the new fashions of clothing that required brooch use, those in the wider countryside – except for those who occupied villas – were not. This is likely to correspond with the general lack of evidence for economic integration between those in the countryside and nucleated settlements on the road network (Allen 2016b, 274). It suggests that while military *vici*, towns and other nucleated settlements may have been, in relative terms, cosmopolitan, multi-cultural centres with occupants from a variety of backgrounds that encouraged new ways of dressing, those occupying farmsteads in the wider countryside remained far more culturally conservative. It is important to note, however, that those occupying the military *vici*, towns and nucleated settlements, where brooches began to be used, were not merely adopting a new ‘Roman’ object. The Trumpet (and most other) brooches

that are most common in the region are fundamentally a native type of artefact, incorporating decorative motifs, and often enamelling, which are of Celtic and not classical design (Johns 1996a, 182–5; Hunter 2008, 138–9). The use of these objects at the sites where they are most commonly found was undoubtedly a native response to the changed social fabric created by the Roman conquest, which forged new opportunities for social interaction, leading to the development of new ways of dressing that likely fused pre-existing elements with those imported from the Continent, and indeed, from further south within the province.

It is worth noting here that the farmsteads best represented by brooches are also typically those at which the above-discussed glass bangles occur – of the fifteen farmsteads with glass bangles, ten (67 per cent) yielded brooches (compared with just 23 per cent of farmsteads generally). This indicates that the farmsteads which acquired and used glass

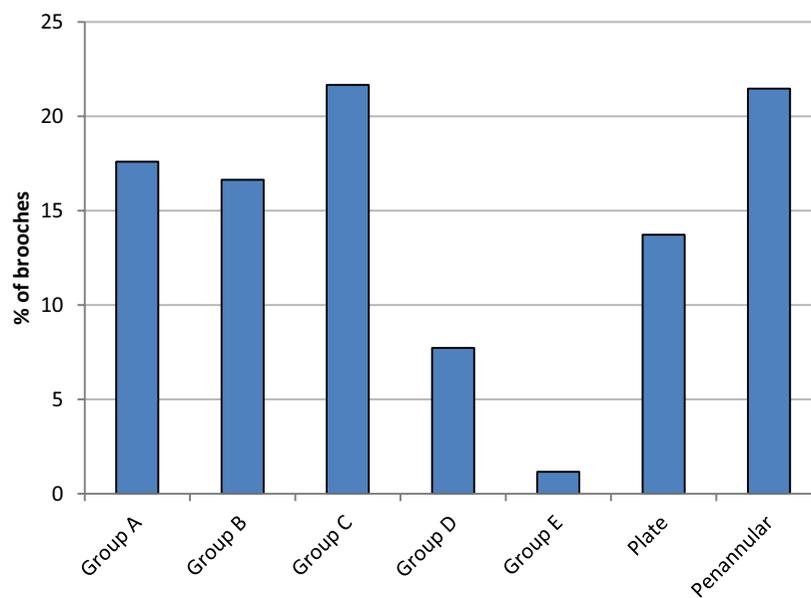


FIG. 2.26. Percentages of brooches from each group in the North-East region (total no. brooches=517)

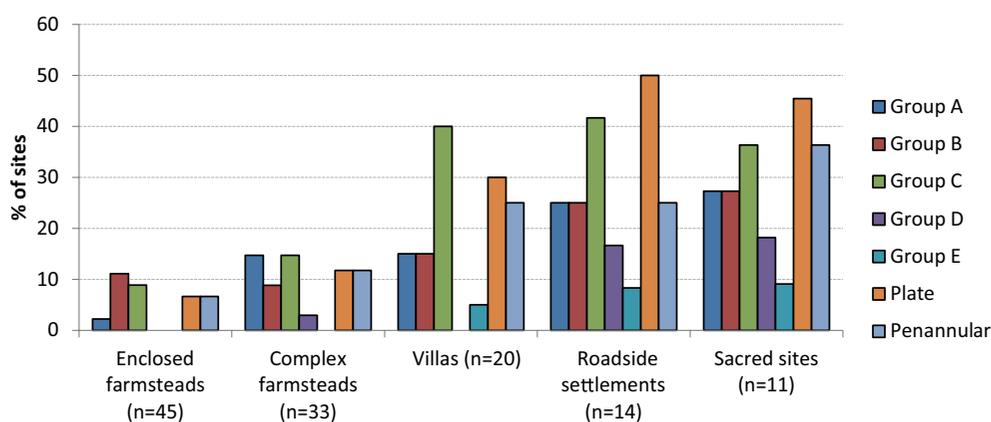


FIG. 2.27. Representation of brooch groups from main site types in the North-East region (n=no. of sites)

bangles were those that appear to have been most closely integrated with the populations at towns and military sites (i.e. complex farmsteads), where both brooches and glass bangles are found more widely, and were thus most likely to engage with this new form of post-conquest material culture.

Because brooches of Groups A and B are scarce in the region, plate brooches make up a greater proportion of all brooches recorded in the North-East than in the previous regions, though they are on the whole less widely distributed. While a range of types is represented, one type – the Dragonisque brooch – merits particular attention, as it is such a distinctive regional type. Although it is fairly widely distributed, and has been found in small numbers across the whole of the province, there is a distinctive clustering in the North-East, with Yorkshire being recognised as their homeland (Hunter 2010, 95; Mackreth 2011, 186–8; 2012). These brooches are not common on excavated rural settlements in the region, with single examples recovered from just eight sites (2 per cent), though this is still substantially higher than in most other regions, with just one example from 1509 sites in the Central Belt (0.06 per cent).

Indeed, when one looks at the distribution of these brooches recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), the North-East focus is very stark (FIG. 2.28; see Hunter 2010, 95, fig. 2, for a map combining PAS and other finds). While the type is without doubt a predominantly North-Eastern family of brooch, consideration of sub-types has enabled Hunter to propose some other areas of manufacture, south of the Humber and in southern Scotland (*ibid.*, 100).

Although there are many examples of Dragonisque brooches recorded by PAS, there is of course usually very little in the way of contextual information about them. As with all brooch types in the North-East, those from excavated sites are unevenly socially distributed, favouring sites on the road network. The sites include a military *vicus* (Piercebridge, County Durham), roadside settlements (Winteringham, North Lincolnshire; Hayton, East Riding of Yorkshire; Bainesse, North Yorkshire), a villa (Rudston, East Riding of Yorkshire), two complex farmsteads (Faverdale, Darlington, County Durham; Crossgates, Seamer, North Yorkshire), and a single enclosed farmstead (Hall Quarry, Stainton, South Yorkshire). Many of

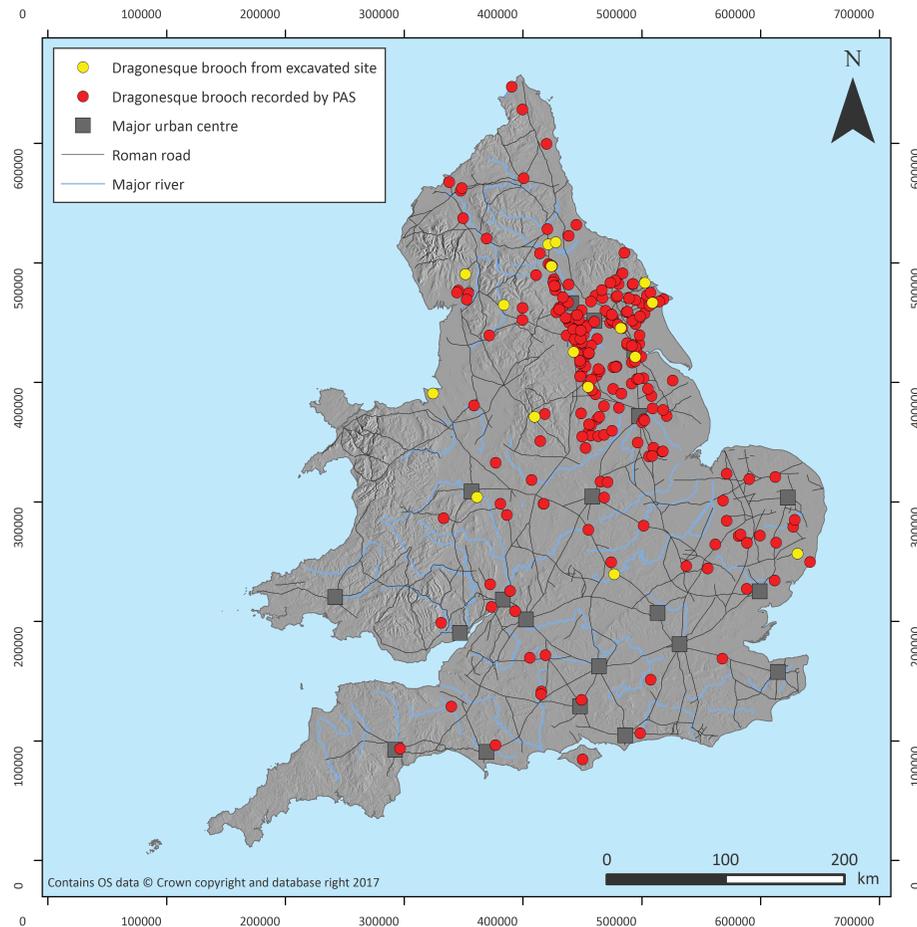


FIG. 2.28. Distribution of Dragonisque brooches recorded by the Roman Rural Settlement Project (RRSP) and Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)

those recorded by Mackreth are from towns and military sites (Mackreth 2011, 186–8). These brooches have generated considerable academic interest in the past, chiefly because they are such attractive objects, and because their appearance is so unique. There has been much discussion of the social significance of their development, especially as, although they appear ultimately to be derived from a distinctly regional Iron Age S-shaped brooch (Hunter 2010, 95), they are a post-conquest type that employs distinctively Iron Age British ‘Celtic’ design (Feachem 1951; 1968; Johns 1996a, 183–4; Jundi and Hill 1998; Hunter 2008, 139–41; 2010). The social distribution of these brooches, together with a general lack of evidence for brooch use in the wider countryside during the pre-Roman period, might suggest that the development of these brooches was a very particular regional response to new social circumstances at sites on the major road network, which meant that brooches (or badges) became a new and important means for expressing regional cultural ideas. Mackreth went so far as to suggest that the type may have been a badge used exclusively by members of the Brigantes tribe (Mackreth 2012, 12). Linking a type of material culture with a particular tribe is problematic given our imperfect understanding of the tribes of Roman Britain and their territories (cf. Smith and Fulford 2016, 402–3), and it fails to consider how objects may have been viewed, adopted and treated differently by people in different circumstances and at different times. Eckardt has also shown how the distribution of particular brooch types is arguably more likely to reflect localised workshops, and the consequent marketing network for brooches, than tribal areas of use (cf. Eckardt 2014, 128–32).

Nevertheless, the North-East focus for Dragonisque brooches is a striking example of regionality and the development of a particular form of material culture, which, when worn, may have carried subconscious messages about belonging to a local area. It may be no coincidence that these brooches appear to have been considerably more common at sites on the major communications network, where engagement with people from different backgrounds was a regular occurrence. Indeed Hodder’s work on the distribution of material culture items in western Kenya suggested, in this instance, that the importance of the symbolic nature of artefacts was stressed at boundaries and in places of contact between different identity groups (Hodder 1977). If this was the case, then there would have been less need to reinforce and display group identity at settlements more removed from the main foci of social interaction; for example, at more ‘remote’ farmsteads in the North Yorkshire Moors, everyone

would have known the occupants belonged to a certain ‘tribal’ group, and they would not have needed any ‘badges’ to display this fact.

The social distribution of the few Dragonisque brooches found outside of the North-East is again focused on nucleated settlements, particularly forts and their *vici* and roadside settlements, with only very occasional examples from farmsteads. The pattern is suggestive of occasional movement along the major communications network, and much of the northern distribution of these brooches is perhaps a result of the general flow of traffic as supplies from the south of the province made their way through the roadside sites in the North-East to the northern military frontier. However, Hunter’s (2010, 100) observation that there appear to be at least two other areas of manufacture, with sub-types produced in Scotland and south of the Humber, indicates that there was imitation in other regions.

If many plate brooches carried ideological messages, as suggested by Allason-Jones (2014), we should question whether Dragonisque brooches manufactured in different areas were necessarily viewed in the same way. That such brooches may have had some ideological significance is hinted at by some of the findspots from which they have been recovered. An association with caves has previously been noted (Jundi and Hill 1998, 131–4; Eckardt 2014, 132), and, given their general rarity at rural sites, it may be of significance that examples were recovered from Thirst House Cave, Deepdale, Derbyshire (Branigan and Dearne 1991b), and Victoria Cave, Settle, North Yorkshire (Dearne and Lord 1998), which may both have been foci for ritual activity (see Ch. 5, p. 146). The latter produced five Dragonisque brooches, along with a number of other plate brooches. Other potentially ritually deposited examples include one from Borness Cave, in Scotland (Feachem 1968), and another included in a hoard of metalwork deposited in a bog at Lamberton Moor, Scotland (*ibid.*). Their selection as possible votive objects in some instances of course does not mean that any ideological meaning was necessarily shared by all those who wore or deposited them – different people may not have viewed them in the same way, depending on the period and context (cf. Hill 2001, 14; Eckardt 2014, 26).

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE NORTH REGION

As illustrated in Volume 1, the settlement pattern in the North region was considerably less varied than in many other parts of the province, with the principal settlement types being the enclosed

farmstead and the military forts along with their *vici* (Brindle 2016a). FIGURE 2.29 shows the representation of the five major types of dress accessory in the region by these site types (the two sites classified as roadside settlements, Walton-le-Dale, Lancashire, and Chester-le-Street, County Durham, have been included with the military *vici* as they also had probable military origins, and were themselves perhaps *vici*, a known fort being located *c.* 0.5 km south of the latter site; Platell 2014). The social distribution of dress accessories and personal grooming equipment, as would be expected, is entirely orientated towards the *vici* and roadside settlements. Farmsteads are exceptionally poorly represented by almost all the groups of objects, though, as in the North-East, the bracelet category stands out as a result of the fairly widespread distribution of glass bangles (discussed above, pp. 27–8), recovered from 22 per cent of farmsteads, especially those in the very north and east of the region. Unlike in the North-East, however, the presence of glass bangles at farmsteads in the North does not generally correspond with increased evidence for brooch use, although often there is evidence for other dress accessories, especially jet or shale bracelets/armlets and glass beads. While the relatively widespread distribution of glass bangles indicates there may have been cultural affinities among people occupying the North and North-East regions, there are also differences in the material culture from the settlements in the two regions,

which suggests that there were distinctions, and it would be wrong to suggest cultural homogeneity within the native populations of northern Britain as a whole. The particular contexts of deposition in some instances hint that glass bangles may have been considered to be particularly appropriate for structured deposition. At Glencoyne, Ullswater, Cumbria, for instance, glass bangles, along with samian, other fine pottery and glass beads, were believed by the excavators to have been deliberately deposited inside a roundhouse (Hoaen and Loney 2010), and the group of glass bangles from Victoria Cave, Settle, North Yorkshire (referred to above, p. 31) are also within this region. The potential magical or apotropaic qualities of glass have been discussed above (p. 28), and it is noteworthy that, despite the general lack of finger rings and other classically derived dress accessories from farmsteads in the North, at two sites in Northumberland intaglios were found, one of glass (at Hartburn; Jobey 1973), the other of cornelian (at Gowenburn River Camp; Jobey and Jobey 1988). Both were engraved, one depicting Achilles dragging Hector around the walls of Troy, yet perhaps the material these objects were made from gave them new importance at these native sites, possibly altered now that they were divorced from their original settings.

There is in the North region currently no evidence for any sort of high-status native settlement with preferential access to Roman material culture, as at Traprain Law, in East

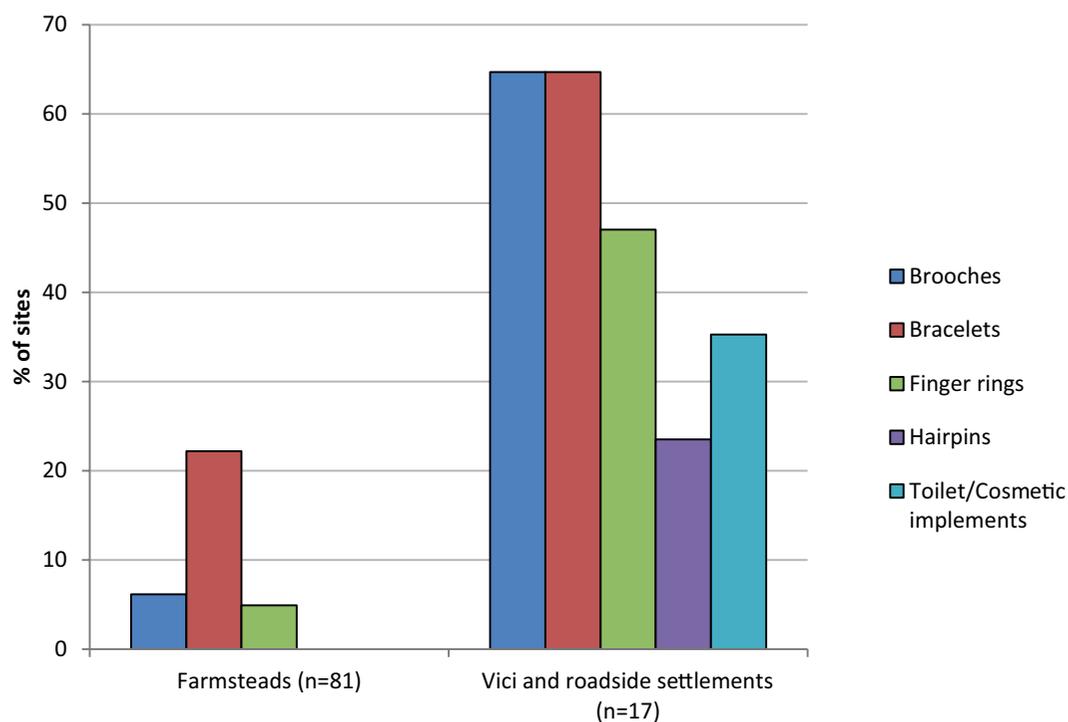


FIG. 2.29. Representation of personal display equipment in the North region by site type (n=no. of sites)

Lothian, Scotland (Hunter 2009; 2016), and most rural settlements produce very little in the way of material culture generally. Indeed, there is considerably greater evidence for Roman material culture from rural sites further north, in south-east Scotland, which may suggest that the presence of Hadrian's Wall and the military zone had a profound effect on local societies, restricting opportunities to develop power and wealth (Hunter 2016, 192). This may be related to the evidence for marked settlement abandonment in the area to the north of Hadrian's Wall in the second century A.D. (Hodgson *et al.* 2013; Brindle 2016a, 315; and see conclusions, below, p. 44).

BROOCH USE IN THE NORTH

As in the North-East, brooch use among the rural population of the North was low. Of all sites in the North, only 17 per cent yielded brooches. Again, Groups A and B are scarcely represented, apparently reflecting a lack of brooch-use by the population in the Iron Age, and the most commonly recovered types are those of Groups C and D, of early and mid-Roman date, along with plate brooches and penannulars (FIG. 2.30). Where brooches were recovered, these were almost exclusively from military *vici* or other sites associated with the military. They are almost completely absent from farmsteads, with a few exceptions. At Bank Newton, North Yorkshire (Casswell and Daniel 2010), a penannular brooch was found; this site was also notable for being one of the few rural sites in the region with coins.

At Doubstead, Scremerston, Northumberland (Jobey 1982), a Nauheim Derivative brooch was deposited in a ditch terminal along with other finds of metalwork, and may have been part of a structured deposit (see Ch. 5); it was not only unusual in terms of its recovery from a farmstead in this region, but also in terms of its early date and its distribution, these types being more typically found much further south, as noted above (p. 23). At a farmstead at West Gunnar Peak, Northumberland (Hogg 1942), a Trumpet brooch and a possible penannular brooch were both recovered, while at Old Brampton, Cumbria (Blake 1960), a Crossbow brooch was found at an apparently high-status site, which may have had military associations. Finally, at Milking Gap, Northumberland (Kilbride-Jones 1938b), a single Dragonisque brooch was recovered from an enclosed farmstead that may have been abandoned during the construction of Hadrian's Wall.

As in the North-East, by far the most common type of brooch is the Trumpet, which accounts for nearly 80 per cent of the Group C brooches. A number of penannular brooches have been recorded, and there are several Headstud and knee brooches, but other types are rare. The relatively large proportion of Group D brooches at military sites in the North (at least compared with areas such as the Central Belt and the South), of which the most common are knee brooches, is no doubt part of the reason for the tendency to see them as being of military type, although, as Cool and Baxter (2016, 86) and Eckardt (2005, 154–6) have noted, they are found on non-military sites

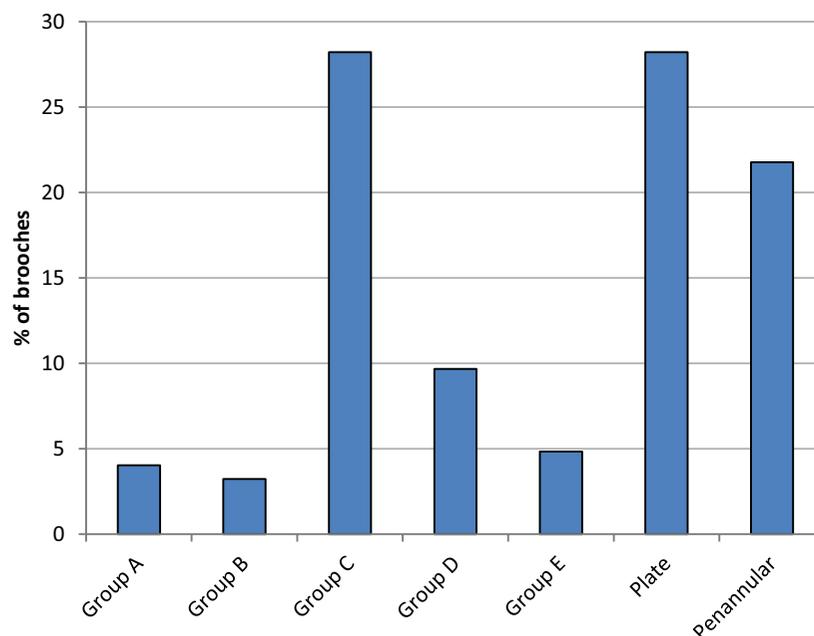


FIG. 2.30. Percentages of brooches from each group in the North region (total no. brooches=124)

elsewhere, and their scarcity at rural sites in the North is merely reflective of non-brooch use by the wider population of the region, along with the absence of the earlier brooch types. The lack of brooches at rural sites suggests that traditional clothing remained uninfluenced by the new fashions that arrived with the Roman army and its followers, representing further evidence for the strong impression of an only marginal relationship between the native inhabitants of northern rural settlements and those occupying the forts and their associated *vici* (Brindle 2016a, 325).

Given that brooch use in the North appears to be restricted in the main to sites directly associated with the military, it is unsurprising that there is, in general, little evidence for their use as votive offerings in the wider countryside. An exception, however, is the potential shrine at Victoria Cave, Settle, North Yorkshire, discussed above (p. 31; see also Ch. 5), which yielded a range of brooches, including several Dragonesque types, along with many other artefacts, some of which appear to have particularly close associations with caves in general (Eckardt 2014, 146–8). Evidence for metalworking at Victoria Cave suggests that brooches may have been made at the site, and it has been suggested that the cave may have had a dual industrial/ritual focus (Dearne and Lord 1998).

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE CENTRAL WEST REGION

Objects associated with personal adornment and grooming in the Central West are socially distributed in a similar way to the other regions, with roadside settlements, military *vici* and villas substantially better represented than farmsteads

(FIG. 2.31). The categories of object other than brooches are somewhat less well represented here than in some other regions, even at roadside settlements and *vici*, though here that seems likely to be a product of the small sample sizes rather than any genuine social distinction between these types of settlements in the different areas. What is striking, however, is that farmsteads are so poorly represented by all types of dress accessory, especially those other than brooches. As enclosed sites make up the overwhelming majority of classified farmsteads in this region (Brindle 2016b, 292), all farmsteads have been grouped together here, yet when compared with enclosed farmsteads in, for instance, the Central Belt or the South, brooches are distinctly less widespread, and the other types of object are barely present at all, recovered, in all cases, from less than 5 per cent of sites. The geographical distribution of the farmsteads that have yielded brooches and other dress accessories is also of interest. While such finds are rare at all farmsteads in the region, there is a notable lack of brooches from farmsteads in the area surrounding the *civitas* capital at Wroxeter, compared with the area to the north, near Chester. This is part of a wider pattern presented in Volume 1, where some farmsteads in the Chester area appear to have been more integrated into the market-based economy than those nearer Wroxeter, with more evidence for coin use and the wider adoption of ceramics (Brindle 2016b, 302–3).

When finds of brooches recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) are plotted on a map it seems hard to reconcile the dearth of brooches at farmsteads in much of the region with those recorded by PAS, as they appear to be very numerous, occurring across much of the lowlands

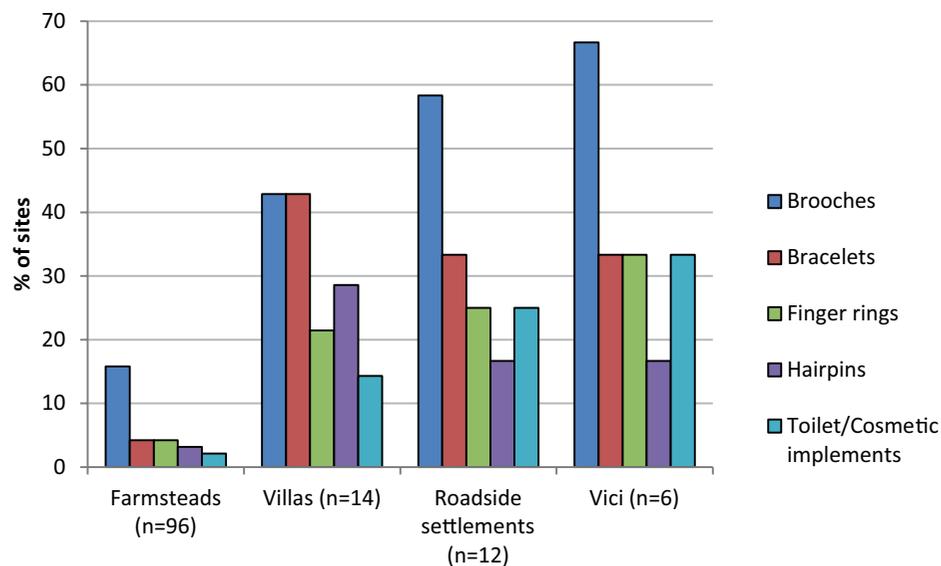


FIG. 2.31. Representation of personal display equipment in the Central West region by site type (n=no. of sites)

of the region. However, a kernel density plot of the PAS brooches indicates that, as with the results from excavated sites, they are considerably more common finds in the landscape surrounding Chester than around Wroxeter (FIG. 2.32). This is likely to reflect differing cultural values in the two areas, with those in the countryside surrounding Wroxeter continuing to favour traditional tribal dress, and, given the lack of ceramic evidence in the countryside of this area, traditional ways of eating and drinking (Gaffney *et al.* 2007, 280; Brindle 2016b, 302–3). Particular clusters of brooches occur in the immediate vicinity of the roadside ‘walled towns’ at Wall, Staffordshire, and Alcester, Warwickshire, yet there are also clusters of finds recorded by PAS in other areas, away from known Roman towns, especially to the south-west of Water Eaton and the north of Rocester. Given the general lack of finds at farmsteads, the usual social distribution of brooches and other dress accessories has important implications for our understanding of findspots that have produced unusually large groups of such objects, but whose character remain unknown. At, Worfield, Shropshire, adjacent to the River Severn, the

quality and nature of the PAS finds, including large numbers of Polden Hill and Trumpet brooches, as well as instances of personal grooming equipment, are suggestive of a well-integrated riverside nucleated settlement, and the proximity of both the Severn and a Roman road running east–west, slightly to the south of the main PAS distribution are likely to be the reasons for the site’s importance. In the area near Ilam, in the Staffordshire Peak District, hundreds of finds have been reported by metal-detector users, including many brooches, dominated by Polden Hill and Trumpet types, as well as finger rings and toilet equipment. The reporting of many early Roman silver *denarii* from the area is suggestive of a military association (see Brindle 2017a), and the recovery of the remarkable Staffordshire Moorlands patera (an enamelled bowl that lists four forts at the western end of Hadrian’s Wall; PAS reference WMID-3FE965) from nearby represents strong evidence for a military connection. The finds evidence around Ilam is suggestive of an important nucleated settlement with likely military origins, and given that such sites are usually on the road network, one might

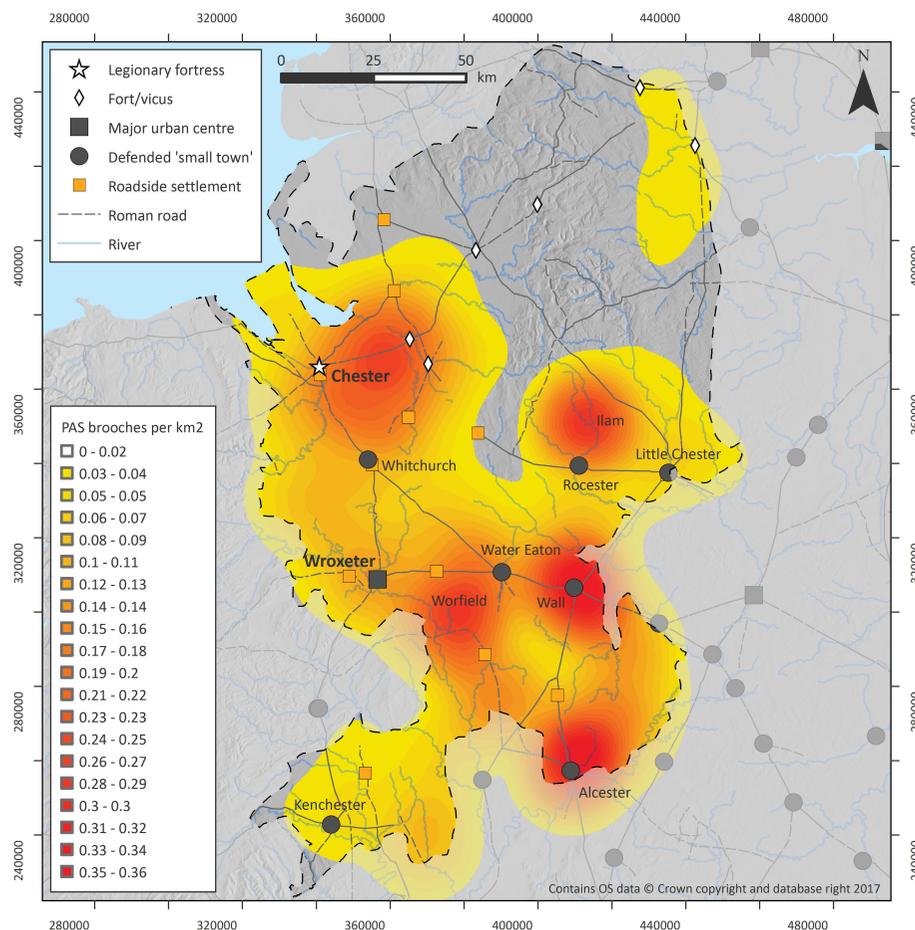


FIG. 2.32. Kernel density plot of brooches recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) in the Central West region

hypothesise a Roman road running through the area, perhaps connecting the site with Little Chester to the south-east and Rocester to the south. Our increasing understanding of the social distribution of brooches and other objects in the region allows us to attempt to characterise such findspots, in broad terms, with increasing confidence.

BROOCH USE IN THE CENTRAL WEST

As we have seen above, brooches appear to have been used much less widely in the countryside of the Central West than in some other regions, with such artefacts being recovered from just a quarter of sites. As in the North and North-East, the emphasis is overwhelmingly on the nucleated sites – the roadside settlements and military *vici*. Just 16 per cent of farmsteads yielded brooches, with villas being better represented, at 43 per cent, though with just fourteen excavated villas from the region, the sample is small.

Groups of Type A are scarcely represented in the region, accounting for just 8 per cent of all brooches (FIG. 2.33). As only a single Colchester brooch was recorded from the region, incorporating this type with the Colchester Derivatives in Group B has had little impact. Where early brooch types were recovered they were predominantly found at sites that appear to have been high status during the late Iron Age and/or early Roman period, or are unusual in some way. Examples include the hillforts at Midsummer Hill, Herefordshire (Stanford 1981), and the Berth, Shropshire (Morris and Gelling 1991), and the likely port at Meols on the Wirral peninsula (Griffiths *et al.* 2007). In addition, early brooches were recovered from Grimstock Hill, Coleshill, Warwickshire

(Magilton 2006), a site that developed into a Romano-Celtic temple complex in the second century A.D., and also from certain caves with a possible ritual focus, as at Poole's Cavern, Buxton (Smithson and Branigan 1991) and Thirst House Cave, Deepdale (Branigan and Dearne 1991b), both Derbyshire. The remaining brooches are from military *vici* at Castleford, West Yorkshire (Cool and Philo 1998), and Greensforge, Staffordshire (Webster 1981; Jones 1999). Apart from such high-status, religious or military sites, there is little evidence for early brooch-use in the wider countryside.

Brooches in Group B are somewhat more common, accounting for 24 per cent of the total number of brooches. Most Group B brooches are of Polden Hill type, accounting for 64 per cent of the group, reflecting the general distribution of the type, which centres on the region (e.g. Bayley and Butcher 2004, 160).

Group C brooches are the most abundant type in the region, accounting for 36 per cent of all those recorded. As in the North and North-East, the group is dominated by those of Trumpet type (67 per cent), though Headstud brooches are also numerous (22 per cent), and Developed T-shaped brooches, enamelled bow brooches and Wroxeter brooches are sometimes found. While Group C brooches have been recovered from nearly a third of the region's villas and almost half of the nucleated sites (*vici* and roadside settlements combined), even these brooches remain uncommon at farmsteads, recovered from only six sites (6 per cent) (FIG. 2.34). Where such brooches have been recovered from sites defined as farmsteads, there is often evidence to suggest that these settlements were atypical in some way.

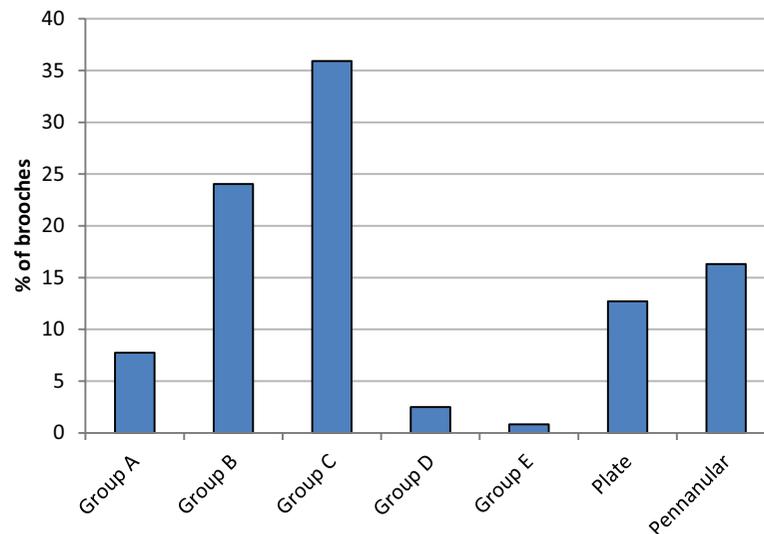


FIG. 2.33. Percentages of brooches from each group in the Central West region (total no. brooches=362)

The finds assemblage from Plas Coch, Wrexham (Jones 2011), is suggestive of an unusually high-status site, and the possibility exists that it may have been a villa. The extensive but poorly understood settlement at Rainster Rocks, Derbyshire (Makepeace 1998), has a relatively rich finds assemblage (Dool 1978), including high numbers of coins, suggesting that it was not a typical farmstead.

As with Dragoneseque brooches in the North-East, there is a particular brooch type in the Central West that merits some discussion. The Wirral brooch is a fairly recently recognised, distinctive type of brooch from the area around the Wirral peninsula, Cheshire and North-East Wales, but which has been shown to have further concentrations at military sites in the North, and in Scotland (Philpott 1999; McIntosh and Ponting 2014; cf. Eckardt 2014, 130). Known primarily from metal-detector finds, the type has been regarded as a rural type by McIntosh (McIntosh and Ponting 2014, 127), although, much like Dragoneseque brooches in the North-East, the type is scarcely represented at rural sites in the project database. This may partly be explained by the fact that the type has only recently been recognised as a distinct form of brooch, and has often been classed as a Trumpet type (e.g. Williams and Reid 2008), and, indeed, it has sometimes been viewed as developing from it (Philpott 1999). However, the scarcity of brooches in general at excavated rural sites in the region may suggest that the type, as with others, was far more commonly used at military sites, towns and other nucleated sites on the major communications network than by most of the wider rural population. Certainly, of the few excavated examples identified by McIntosh, most are from military sites, with a very small number

of examples from rural sites, the exceptions being Acton Trussel villa in Staffordshire, Beeston in Cheshire West and Chester, and the unusual open farmstead at Halewood, Merseyside (McIntosh and Ponting 2014, 116–20, table 1).

While the lack of such brooches from farmsteads may be a result of a relatively small sample of excavated sites in the region, together with sometimes small-scale excavations, comparisons with farmsteads in the South, East and Central Belt regions suggest that it is a genuine pattern. There may be several reasons for the apparently rural distribution of the Wirral brooches recorded by PAS. The distribution is concentrated across a broad area that may be regarded as the hinterland of the legionary fortress at Chester, and there is a notable emphasis on the major roads and rivers. The prevalence of this regional type of brooch in the landscape surrounding Chester may be related to intensive production in a landscape that is likely to have been controlled by the military, and may have been used to generate supplies for the army (Carrington 2012; Brindle 2016b, 300–6). It is possible that some of the rural losses reflect stray finds in the landscape associated with periodic but significant movements of people (for example, troop movements from the legionary fortress at Chester). Another very likely reason is that there are currently a number of sites awaiting identification which, if they were excavated, would probably be characterised in the same way as the sorts of sites that *do* yield brooches and other types of material culture – military and industrial sites, roadside settlements and villas.

Although the single finds of Wirral brooches may be casual losses, an examination of the distribution of findspots with multiple stray Wirral brooches shows that there is a distinct focus on the

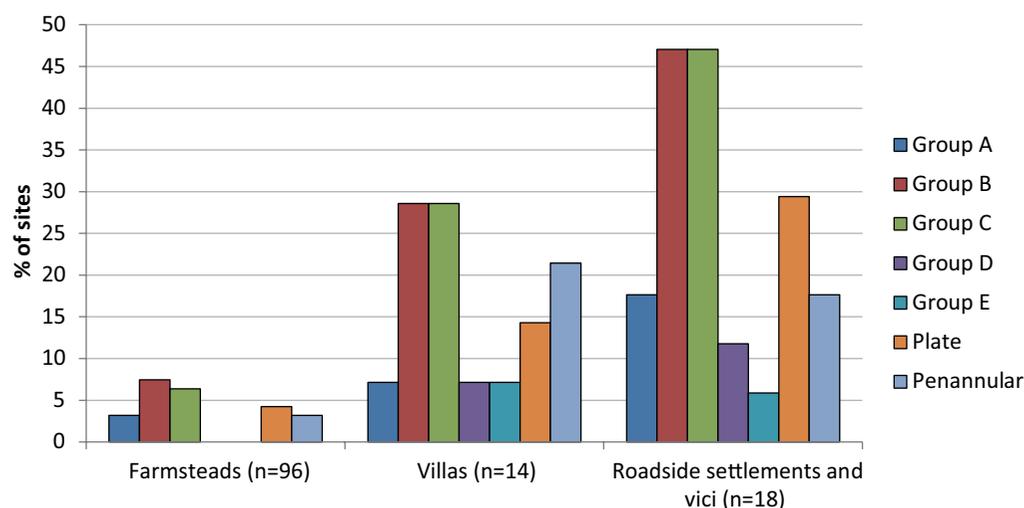


FIG. 2.34. Representation of brooch groups from main site types in the Central West region (n=no. of sites)

road network and the rivers (FIG. 2.35). There is, for instance, a notable cluster at Farndon, on the opposite side of the River Dee to the well-known Roman industrial site at Holt (Ward 1998), and it seems quite possible that the distribution is linked in some way with the military tile production site. There is an example from the excavated roadside settlement at Middlewich (Williams and Reid 2008; Garner and Reid 2012), along with a further example recorded by the PAS. There is a distinct cluster at Weaverham, on the River Weaver, and at this location a Roman road has long been postulated to have run through the modern village, with traces supposedly discovered in the late nineteenth century (Waddelove and Waddelove 1985). The group of Wirral brooches, along with a large number of brooches, coins and other objects recorded on the PAS database, may relate to a previously unrecognised roadside industrial settlement. The two examples on the PAS database from Aston also occur alongside a range of other objects, including other types of brooches and coins, suggesting some sort of nucleated settlement, perhaps associated with industrial supply.

The overall impression is that, as Philpott (1999) and McIntosh and Ponting (2014) have

both argued, this brooch is a regionally distinctive type, but not one that can be said to be evenly distributed across all types of rural settlement. It does not appear to be a universally 'rural' type; the general lack of brooches of all types at farmsteads in this area suggests that most of the rural population may not have worn brooches. Rather, there seems to be a likely association with sites linked to provisioning the military in the north, as excavated examples from the sites at Wilderspool and Middlewich suggest. This would help account for the distribution of brooches at military sites in the north, and, indeed, would be an explanation for the means by which such brooches entered Scotland, where they appear to have been selected for use by some members of native society (McIntosh and Ponting 2014, 132–3). This is not, of course, to suggest that the brooches themselves were a 'military' type, if such a thing can even be said to exist, but that they developed and became popular among the communities who lived in and worked at the types of site that were bound up with supplying the military machine. These people are likely to have been exposed to a wide range of material culture and ideas, and the populations may have been made up of people from diverse

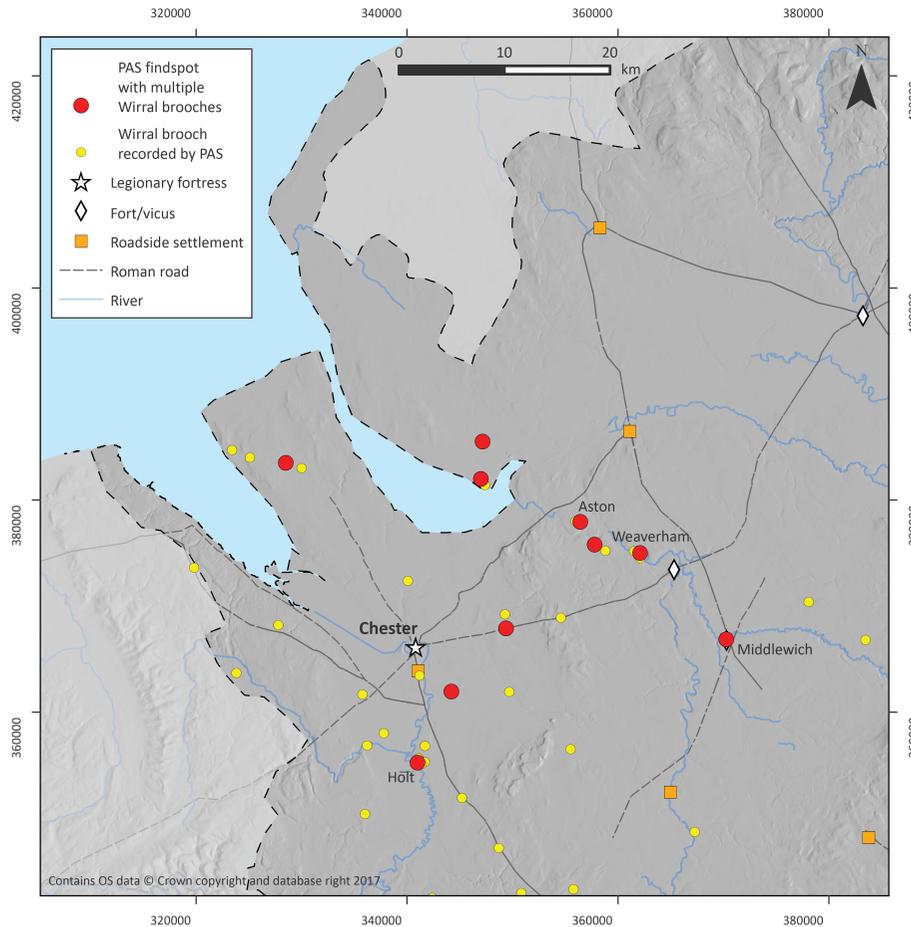


FIG. 2.35. Distribution of Wirral brooches recorded by Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) in the Chester area

backgrounds. The inhabitants of these sites may therefore have had a very different relationship with material culture, and perhaps attitudes towards dress, to those occupying low-status farmsteads in the wider countryside, as appears also to have been the case in some other parts of the province.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE UPLAND WALES AND MARCHES REGION

As with other regions, brooches are the dominant form of dress accessory in Uplands Wales and the Marches, with other types of artefact associated with personal display mostly limited to the military *vici* and roadside settlements. Owing to the small numbers involved, *vici* and roadside settlements have been grouped together within FIG. 2.36, while villas have been omitted as so few have been excavated from the region, and full finds data are not available from all of these. Farmsteads of all types have been grouped together, although these are dominated by those of enclosed form (see Brindle 2016c for the striking morphological differences in different areas).

Finger rings, hairpins and personal grooming equipment are rare finds at farmsteads, although objects in the bracelet category are somewhat more frequently found, especially at farmsteads in North Wales. Indeed, they are the only one of the groups of dress accessories more commonly found

at farmsteads than at military *vici* or roadside settlements. The reason for this seems clearly to be linked to the typically early dates of military *vici* in the region, with many being abandoned by the mid-second century (e.g. Burnham and Davies 2010, 48–60; Brindle 2016c, 364); these sites were not always in existence long enough to see the widespread use of the copper-alloy bracelets, which became most common during the late Roman period. While copper-alloy bracelets are present at some rural sites, the objects in this category most often recovered from farmsteads are typically made of stone, jet or shale and glass. The greater prevalence at farmsteads here is therefore likely to reflect the native origins of these types of object (Johns 1996a, 108), and their popularity among the native rural population. At the single *vicus* where bracelets were recovered, Caersws, in Powys (Britnell 1989), they were also of shale/jet or glass, which is perhaps suggestive of a native presence at some military *vici*. Where other types of dress accessory are found at farmsteads, they tend to be from north Wales rather than south-west Wales, and such finds are also better represented in the Portable Antiquities Scheme data from north of the region. Coygan Camp, in south-west Wales (Wainwright 1967), is somewhat anomalous, being represented by numbers of finger rings, hairpins, bracelets and toilet equipment (but not brooches), amid an unusually rich finds assemblage in general for the region; this site appears to have been of particularly high status.

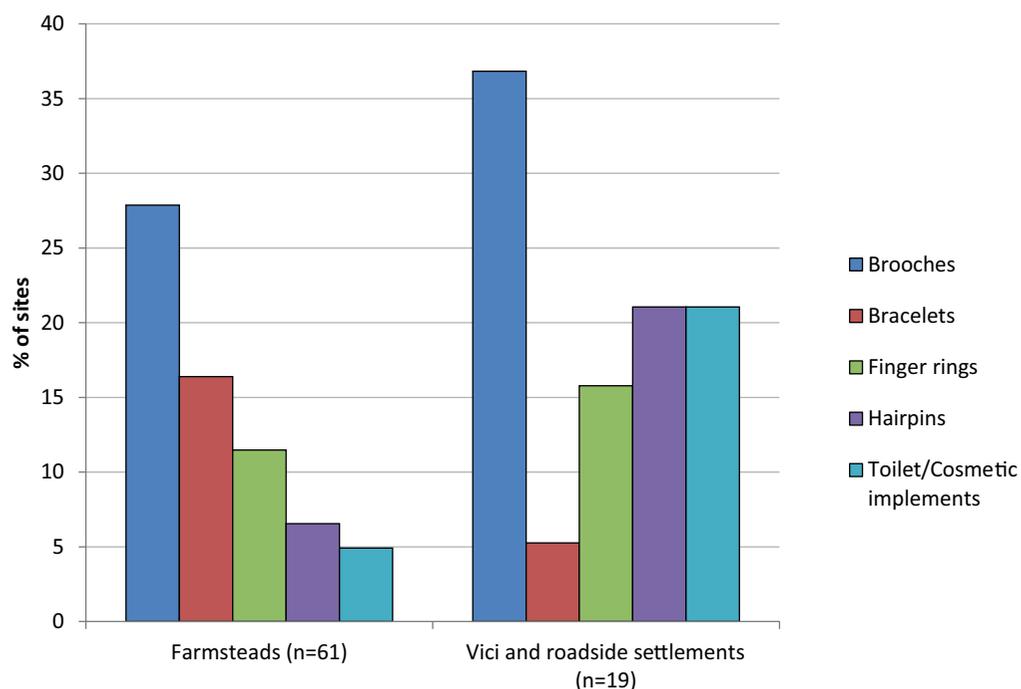


FIG. 2.36. Representation of personal display equipment in Upland Wales and the Marches region by site type (n=no. of sites)

BROOCH USE IN UPLAND WALES AND THE MARCHES

Brooches are again rare in Upland Wales and the Marches, recovered from just 28 per cent of sites recorded on the project database. Brooches of Group A are very uncommon, with those of Groups B and C making up the majority (FIG. 2.37). Group B brooches are dominated by those of Polden Hill type (accounting for 67 per cent), reflecting the main distribution of the type in the West Midlands and into north and east Wales. Although these brooches have an origin in the early years following the conquest, most of the examples are likely to be late first to second century in date, and are thus broadly contemporary with those in Group C, which are dominated by Trumpets and their derivatives (60 per cent), with some Headstuds, but few other types. The Wirral-type brooches discussed in the previous section occur in north Wales (McIntosh and Ponting 2014), and though there are none on the project database, this is possibly because some have been classified as either Trumpet derivatives or Headstud types in reports. The overall chronological impression for the region is that brooch-use took off from the end of the first century A.D., and there is little evidence for widespread use of brooches by the rural pre-Roman native populations.

While brooch use appears to have been generally uncommon across the region as a whole, there is not a substantial difference between the two main

settlement types in the region, farmsteads and military *vici*, with brooches identified at 28 per cent of farmsteads and 37 per cent of *vici*. Given how widespread brooches are at military sites elsewhere, the relatively low proportion of *vici* with brooches in this region is somewhat anomalous, and may reflect the small-scale interventions undertaken at many of the *vici* that have seen archaeological investigation. The relatively high number of farmsteads with brooches (especially compared with the Central West, where it was just 16 per cent) requires some consideration.

The uneven geographical distribution of brooches at farmsteads is shown in FIG. 2.38, with those in the north and east of the region appearing far more likely to have used brooches than those in the south. This is likely to reflect what seem to have been very distinctive differences in the settlement pattern between these different areas, as highlighted in Volume 1 (Brindle 2016c). The distribution of brooches recorded by the PAS is also strongly focused on north and east Wales, and while this may reflect variation in levels of metal detecting, taken together with the data from excavated sites, it is suggestive of greater levels of brooch-use in these areas, which, in turn, suggests differences in the way people dressed. The military interest in the mineral resources available in the mountainous area of north Wales meant that there was a long-lived military presence in some areas (Mattingly 2006, 418), with the fort at Caernarfon (*Segontium*), for instance, occupied until the end

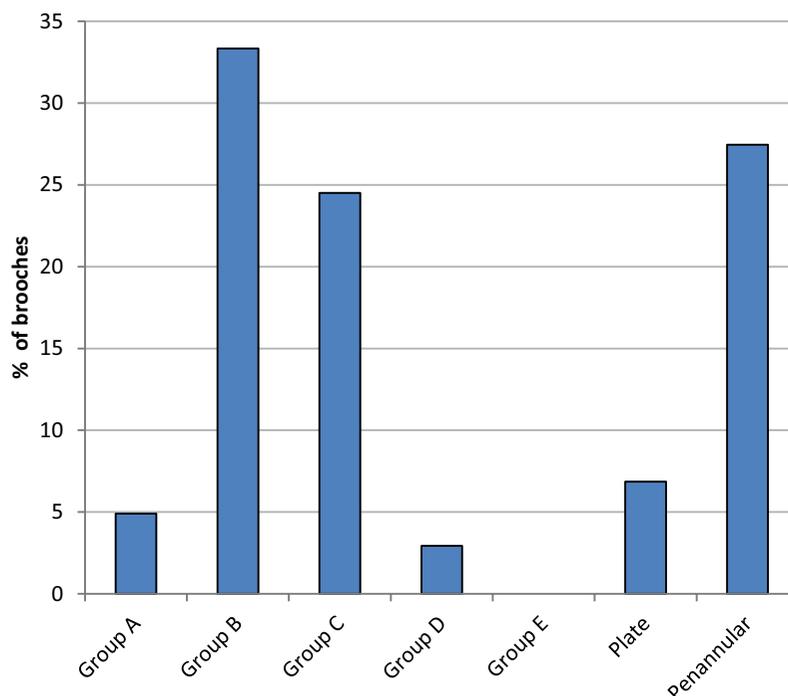


FIG. 2.37. Percentages of brooches from each group in Upland Wales and Marches region (total no. brooches=102)

of the Roman period. The route between the legionary fortress at Chester and the auxiliary fort at Caernarfon is likely to have been an important conduit for both material culture and ideas to enter the region, as evidenced by the distribution of Wirral brooches in north Wales (McIntosh and Ponting 2014), and although few are known, we might envisage the development of some nucleated roadside settlements along this route, where such material perhaps circulated widely.

Hillforts are a key site type in the archaeology of Upland Wales and the Marches, although only seven have been excavated that have yielded evidence for late Iron Age or Roman activity. The sample is therefore small, although five of the seven have yielded brooches, suggesting that brooch use at these sites (as in the Central West region) may have been somewhat different from farmsteads. Only one of these sites (Braich-y-Dinas, Conwy; Hughes 1923) had a brooch of Iron Age date, while the others were represented mainly by brooches in Groups B (Colchester Derivatives and Polden Hills) and C (Trumpet brooches and Headstuds), and some penannulars. It therefore

seems that the brooches were in the main post-conquest arrivals, and that brooch-use was not widespread at these site types in the Iron Age. In some cases the presence of brooches at hillforts may reflect a change in use during the Roman period. At Croft Ambrey, Herefordshire (Stanford 1974), for example, a number of brooches were recovered from an area that became the focus for a shrine during the early Roman period.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT IN THE SOUTH-WEST REGION

As demonstrated in Volume 1 (Brindle 2016d), the settlement pattern in the South-West is dominated by enclosed farmsteads (of many different forms), and there are too few types of other settlement to allow graphical comparison of object types. The two villas from the region are poorly represented by dress accessories, although this is likely to be more reflective of the very limited archaeological intervention at Crediton, Devon (Griffith 1988), and the lack of a full finds report for Magor Farm, Illogan, Cornwall (O'Neill

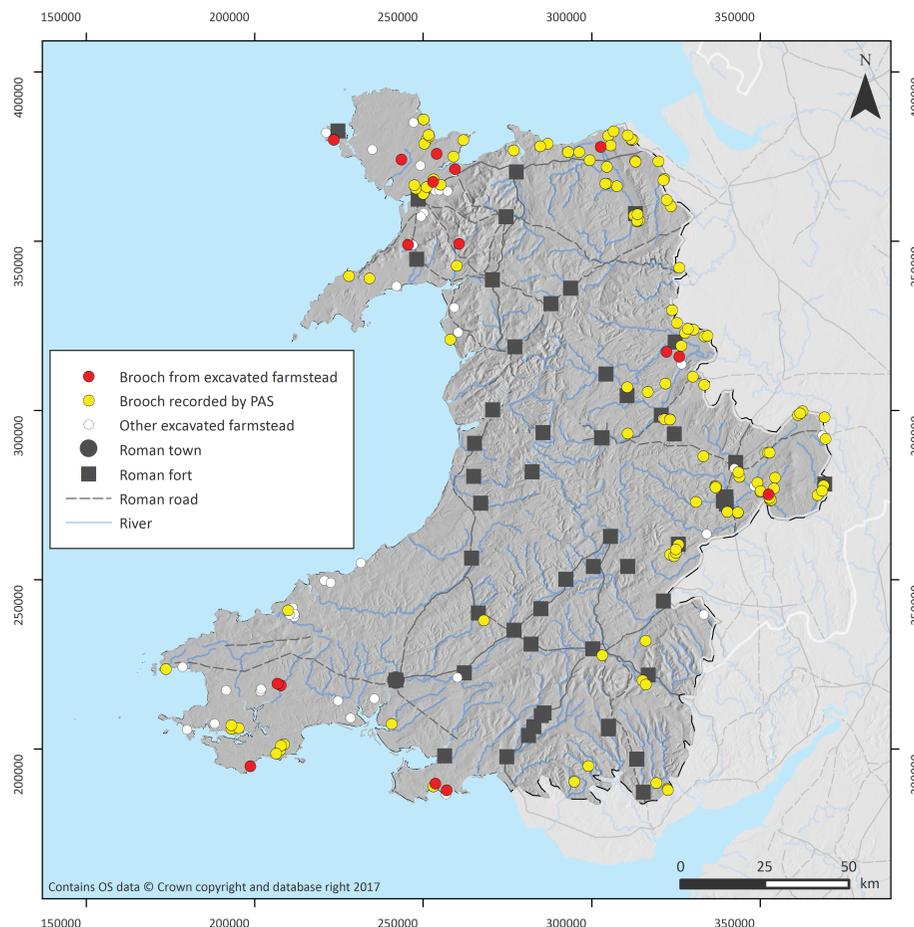


FIG. 2.38. Distribution of brooches at excavated farmsteads and recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) in the Upland Wales and Marches region

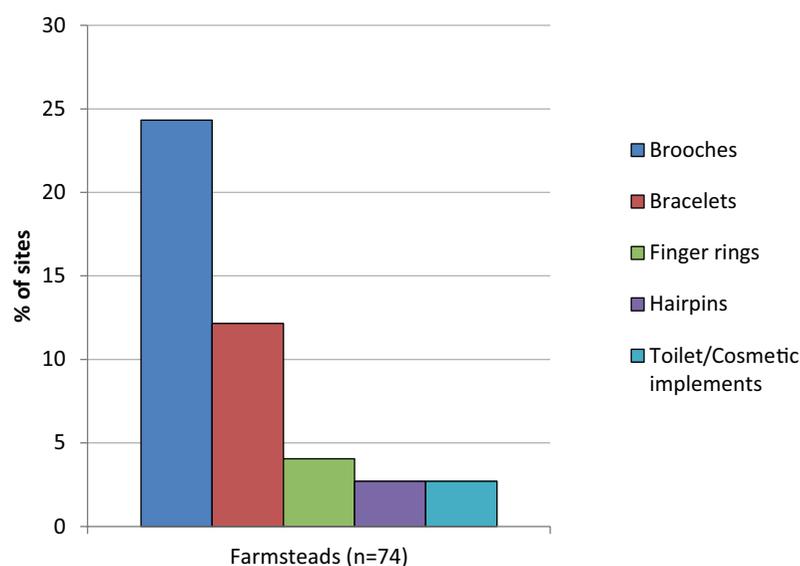


FIG. 2.39. Representation of personal display equipment at farmsteads in the South-West region (n=no. of sites)

1933), than any real lack of objects. The few roadside settlements in the region have also seen fairly limited intervention, though, as might be expected given the pattern in other regions, brooches and toilet equipment have been found at some. The farmsteads of the region are, for the most part, not particularly well represented by dress accessories or personal grooming equipment (FIG. 2.39). There is, however, a very important geographic distinction within the region, with 15 per cent of the sites from Devon and Somerset having brooches, compared with 34 per cent with those from Cornwall. There can be little doubt that this is associated with the striking differences observed within the settlement patterns of the region, discussed in Volume 1 (Brindle 2016d), and what appear to have been very different cultural expressions in the two areas. As in the other regional case studies discussed above, bracelets are typically more common than the other types of dress accessory at farmsteads, other than brooches, again reflecting a prehistoric native and not classical tradition, though all farmsteads with bracelets are located in Cornwall. While a small number were of copper alloy, those of shale are most common within the region, with fragments from nine bracelets recovered from Trethurgy (Quinnell 2004). Dress accessories are similarly rare at the region's hillforts and promontory forts, though, where recovered, shale bracelets are most common. However, the finds from Cadbury Castle hillfort in Devon are of note, where what seems to have been a votive deposit including a large number of bracelets (of copper alloy and shale), as well as other personal objects, was placed in what may have been a well in the centre of the Iron Age hillfort, probably during the late Roman period (Fox 1952; see Ch. 5).

BROOCH USE IN THE SOUTH-WEST

Before considering the composition of the brooch assemblages from the region, it is important first to point out that of the 438 brooches from rural sites in the South-West, 330 (76 per cent) come from just one site. This exceptionally large number of brooches was recovered from a site on Nornour, a remote islet in the eastern Isles of Scilly, and the number of brooches, along with the range of types represented, as well as a number of other objects typically recovered from ritual sites, indicate that the site was an important shrine (Butcher 2004a; though see Fulford 1989a for an alternative explanation). The brooches from this site will be discussed in more detail below, but because the site is so exceptional, and the large number of brooches skews the regional profile so considerably, it has been removed for the purposes of the following regional overview.

Of the remaining 108 brooches in the South-West, 70 were classified, and the apparent distribution of these may be affected by the fact that very few rural sites have been excavated in Devon. Those brooches in Group A were rare, recovered from just seven sites (FIG. 2.40), some of them being found within Iron Age graves, such as Trethellan Farm, Newquay, in Cornwall (Nowakowski 1991) and Bryher in the Isles of Scilly (Johns 2006). Of the three excavated sites in Devon with early brooches, two are very atypical rural settlements. The nature of activity at the cave at Kent's Cavern, Torquay (Silvester 1986), is uncertain, but religious activity of some sort is a possibility. Mount Batten, Plymouth (Cunliffe 1988a), appears to have been an important port with trading contacts with the Mediterranean, at least during the late Iron Age,

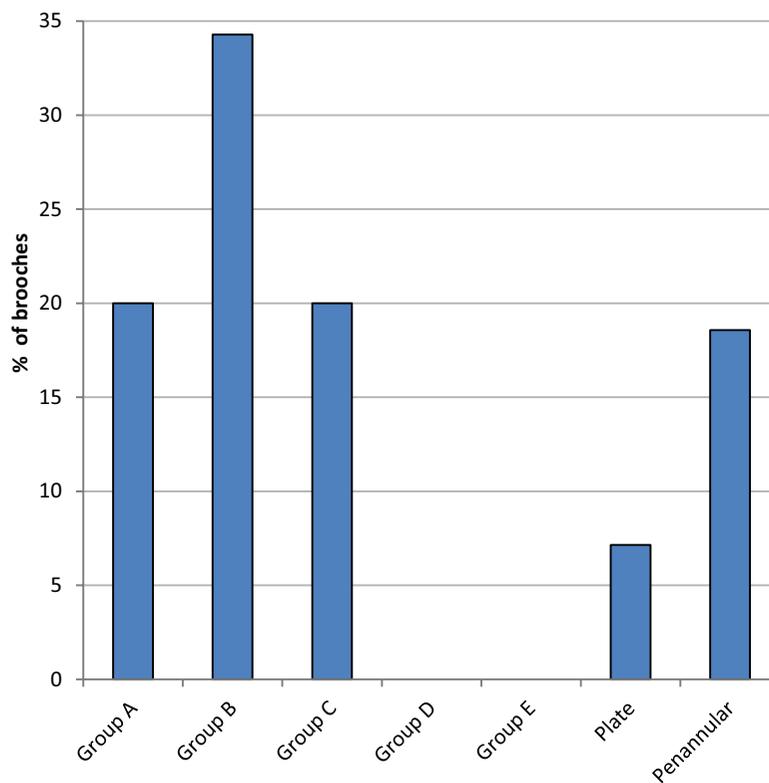


FIG. 2.40. Percentages of brooches from each group in the South-West region (excluding Nornour) (total no. brooches=70)

and the brooch assemblage includes types with possible continental influences, even if some were perhaps made locally (Boudet 1988, 62; S. Adams 2013, 71–2). A recently identified variant of the Aucissa brooch has been recognised as having a predominantly Cornish distribution, leading to the suggestion that they may have been manufactured in the area (Tyacke *et al.* 2011; Thomas 2016, 117).

The fact that some sites in Cornwall produced early brooches, and that they have been recovered from Iron Age burials, may be of significance, as it suggests that at least certain members of society wore brooches during the pre-conquest period. This may be part of the explanation for the far greater prevalence of brooches in Cornwall during the Roman period – the inhabitants of this part of the South-West were familiar with brooches, and the types of clothing that they were used to fasten, and were thus open to the continued use of brooches during the Roman period.

Brooches of Group B are substantially better represented in the South-West, though they have been recovered from Cornish sites far more frequently than from those in the east of the region. Indeed, the only eastern sites with Group B brooches are the aforementioned port at Mount Batten, Plymouth, as well as an enclosed farmstead at Lower Well Farm, Stoke Gabriel (Masson Phillips 1966), which has a finds assemblage

somewhat richer than is usual for farmsteads in much of Devon.

In Cornwall, Group B brooches have been recovered from a number of sites. A range of types is represented, but most common are initial T-shaped types, with some appearing to be a distinctively South-Western type. Thomas (2016) has noted how the increased evidence for brooch use in Cornwall following the Roman conquest, and the increased range of decorative forms, may have been important in the process of renegotiating identities during the early Roman period.

Where brooches occur, they are usually found in small numbers, although some sites have produced unusually large assemblages. At Carvossa in Cornwall (Carlyon 1987), eighteen brooches were recovered, part of a particularly rich finds assemblage for the region, which is suggestive of Roman military activity at the site. The enclosed ‘round’ at St Mawgan-in-Pydar in North Cornwall yielded seventeen brooches, alongside a fairly large assemblage of other artefacts (for the region), which might be related to the site’s role in smelting tin (Threipland 1956). Several cist graves from the first century A.D. cemetery at Porth Cressa, St Mary’s, Isles of Scilly, contained brooches that may have had continental influences (Ashbee 1954; 1979). The two brooches found at Trethurgy serve as an important example of the potentially long use-lives of brooches, as two late first-century

A.D. brooches were recovered from late fourth-century contexts (Butcher 2004b; see also Thomas 2016 for a discussion of the long life of brooches in Cornwall more generally). These brooches may, perhaps, have been acquired through different means, and were possibly treated differently from those recovered from some other sites.

Group C brooches are restricted to Cornwall. A striking feature of the South-West Group C brooches is that Trumpet brooches, which dominate the group in other regions, are infrequent finds (recovered from one site other than Nornour; St Mawgan-in-Pydar; Threipland 1956), whereas Developed T-Shaped types are much more common. This is indicative of the emergence of a distinctive regional group during the later first and second centuries A.D., and the general lack of Trumpet brooches may suggest that markets in the South-West did not have a close relationship with those that operated in, for instance, the North or the Central West, where such brooches are far more common.

Aside from penannular brooches, which occur at a number of sites in Cornwall (yet rarely in Devon), most other brooch types are rare across the South-West region. Plate brooches are occasionally found, but only at four sites in Cornwall, and only at the roadside settlement at Topsham in Devon (Dyer 1999). Group D brooches are absent from sites apart from Nornour, and Group E brooches, the Crossbows, are absent, even at Nornour.

Nornour has already been singled out as an exceptional site for the region, and indeed, for the province. Located in the eastern Isles of Scilly, the site had Bronze Age origins, and was a focus for ritual activity throughout the Roman period, with figurines, miniature pots, coins, brooches and an array of other finds recovered from in and around the Bronze Age houses. The huge brooch assemblage from the site has very few brooches from Group A, yet hundreds of brooches in Groups B and C – consistent with its use from the early Roman period onwards. It is dominated especially by T-shaped brooches, particularly those of developed form, and there are also well over 100 plate brooches. Some of these have strong religious associations, with types including the Horse-and-Rider, skeuomorphic shoe sole and dagger brooches, zoomorphic brooches depicting hippocamps, horses and birds, and others depicting wheels and stars.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has presented a broad overview of the evidence for the appearance of people in the countryside of Roman Britain through a study of

five of the most commonly found categories of object associated with dress and personal display – brooches, bracelets, finger rings, hairpins and personal grooming equipment. What is abundantly clear is that the rural population encompassed a great diversity of peoples, with very different appearances. At the broad geographical level this is evidenced by major differences in the extent to which objects such as brooches and other objects were adopted at settlements in the countryside.

Many of those occupying farmsteads in the south and east of the province wore clothes that required the use of brooches to fasten them, whereas those inhabiting rural sites in the north and west did so to a significantly lesser degree. Bayley and Butcher have previously suggested that during the first 150 years of Roman occupation brooches were a standard part of everyday costume, and that most individuals would have had at least one (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 206). While this may have been the case at many types of settlement in the south and east of the province, it seems almost certainly not to have been true for most of the rural populations of the north and west, who must have had very different ways of fastening their clothes, and indeed, of dressing generally. This is clearly demonstrated by the kernel density plot shown in FIG. 2.41, which shows the density of brooches at farmsteads (of all types), with brooches quantified according to the area excavated. This uneven distribution of brooches (and most other dress accessories at sites in the countryside) occurs despite the fact that dress accessories such as brooches occur widely at Roman military sites and towns in the north and west. The reduced evidence for their use across most of the rural sites in these areas is therefore suggestive of a general lack of integration of the rural population, who seem likely to have adhered to traditional, and for the most part archaeologically invisible, ways of dressing. The development and use of new types of object, however, such as the glass bangles that are common finds at rural sites in the North and North-East regions, indicate that, even in these areas, contact with Rome resulted in some changes to people's appearance (if, that is, glass bangles were a form of dress accessory), which may reflect the construction of new group identities in the face of a changing world (Eckardt 2014, 27; Derks and Roymans 2009). It is notable that the areas that have produced the least evidence for brooches at farmsteads, most notably the uplands of Wales and much of the North, correspond in broad terms with the main distribution of Roman-period beaded torcs, mapped by Hunter (2008; 2010), which have a core area running from the Forth to the Severn–Wash line (Hunter 2008, 134). These

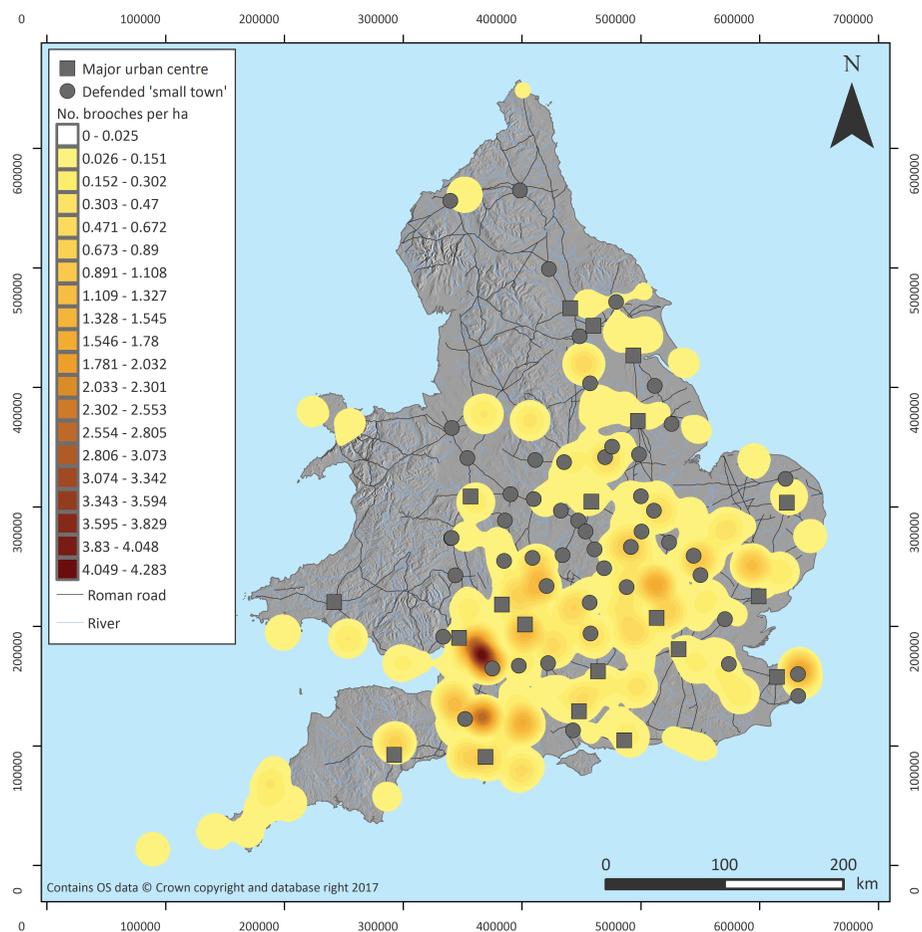


FIG. 2.41. Kernel density plot of brooches recovered from excavated farmsteads

torcs were now increasingly manufactured from base metal, rather than gold or silver as they had been in the Iron Age, indicating that they were being used by a wider social base within parts of northern and western Britain (*ibid.*, 133). Although these objects are rarely recovered from excavated rural sites, the distribution is suggestive of the development of a particular 'native' form of display, with Iron Age origins. This may have been part of a broad cultural response – the revival or reinvention of a tradition (Eckardt 2014, 29) – to the increasing use of classically influenced ways of dressing, which required the use of objects such as brooches, finger rings and hairpins, at what were predominantly military sites in these areas. As just noted, the lack of brooches and most other dress accessories at sites in the countryside in much of the north and west of the province is suggestive of a relative lack of interaction between the rural population and the military sites. Whether this represents a deliberate cultural reaction resulting in an emphasis on traditional values on the part of the native populations and an active rejection of what may have been perceived as alien influences (e.g. Bennett 1983, 217), or, rather, a general lack of opportunities for the occupants of native rural

settlements to acquire material in a tightly controlled militarised landscape, remains for the time being unclear, though the subject has attracted considerable academic discussion (e.g. Allason-Jones 1991; Ferris 2012, 19–21). It is, however, notable that in some parts of northern Britain, beyond the frontier, objects such as brooches were evidently desirable, at least for some people, as the rich finds evidence from some lowland Scottish brochs, and of course, Traprain Law, demonstrates (Hunter 2016, 190–2). The general lack of such objects from most farmsteads in the North may therefore reflect tight military control of the settlement hierarchy, and restricted opportunities for groups to gain preferential access to such material, even if they desired it (e.g. Higham 1989, 169). This may be related to the evidence for changes in the social hierarchy at native sites in some parts of the North following the conquest, where what had been monumental settlement enclosures, suggestive of power and status, had gone out of use by the end of the first or during the second century A.D. (Hodgson *et al.* 2013, 193–4, 213; Brindle 2016a, 324–5).

While the evidence for different appearances in the countryside is at its most stark when viewed in

broad geographical terms, the evidence for the social distribution of dress accessories demonstrates quite clearly how, even in the areas where objects such as brooches, finger rings, hairpins and personal grooming equipment were most widespread, these were not used by everyone. While many of those who occupied the towns, nucleated roadside settlements, villages, villas and complex farmsteads, which were well integrated into the Roman market economy, were influenced by new ways of dressing following the conquest, those occupying enclosed farmsteads did so to a much reduced extent. As we have seen, this has important implications for our understanding of the social context of regional brooch types, which are more often recovered by metal-detector users than during excavation, such as the Wirral Brooch or the Dragonisque. Sometimes regarded as being 'rural' brooch types, owing to their distribution in the countryside outside major towns and military sites, we are able to offer a more nuanced understanding of the sorts of rural sites at which they circulated most widely. In both cases these are most likely to have been nucleated roadside settlements, sometimes associated with military industrial production, and not the sorts of low-status farmsteads occupied by most of the rural population, who are likely to have dressed in ways that did not involve wearing brooches, finger rings and other such items of personal adornment.

Indeed, it seems very likely that, when they came into contact, many of the occupants of a town, villa or a complex farmstead in the Central Belt or South, for instance, would be able to distinguish themselves from the occupants of an enclosed farmstead, based upon their appearance. The wearing of clothes fastened by shiny brooches, finger rings, and, for women, the creation of fashionable and sometimes elaborate hairstyles, must have set individuals apart from those who seem to have adopted very few of these aspects of personal display.

Yet how did those who did adopt the use of classical objects such as finger rings perceive themselves? The increasingly visible influence that classical traditions had on some people in the countryside of Roman Britain, in much of the south and east of the province, need not necessarily be viewed in traditional terms as evidence of the 'Romanization' of a certain element of the population (e.g. Haverfield 1912). While influenced by classical fashions imported by the Roman administration, the army and its followers, the quick emergence of insular forms of classical objects such as hairpins (Cool 1990), and the development of distinctively British (regional) types of brooch – disseminated into the countryside through markets at towns and roadside nucleated

settlements – indicates that new types of object were often adopted and developed in accordance with the social and cultural milieus of the native inhabitants of the province. The concept of creolisation (Webster 2001; Carr 2003; 2006; 2007) – a merging of aspects of different cultures, as well as the use of objects in new ways – is probably a more useful way of seeking to understand changes that took place in the appearance of *some* people in *some* parts of the countryside of Roman Britain.

Certainly, the usefulness of the simplistic, polarised distinction between 'Roman' and 'native' has for some time been called into question (e.g. Hill 2001, 13; Eckardt 2014, 20), and the increasing evidence for social stratification and what may have been distinctive, visible cultural values among the native rural populations of Britain, even within fairly closely defined geographical areas, indicates the presence of myriad, and perhaps conflicting, identities within native populations, which in some cases may have led to social tension. It seems inconceivable that such differences in personal appearance would not have been made manifest in the way that individuals and groups perceived and treated one another. Did the occupants of enclosed farmsteads view the wealthy elite in their villas with envy? Indeed, did a caste system develop, where the occupants of some enclosed farmsteads who may have farmed at the subsistence level, were persecuted and treated with disdain for being uncultured, uneducated, as well, perhaps, as being regarded as dirty and smelly? Might these differences in personal appearance even provide insights into the extent to which people at different classes of rural sites had the *freedom* to engage with the market economy and the access to objects this provided? Enslaved peoples are distinctly difficult groups to recognise in the archaeological record, yet private ownership of land and the freedom of movement are exceedingly unlikely to have been universal rights throughout the province (see Ch. 8). The evidence discussed above for differences in personal appearance may reflect distinctive social identities based upon perceptions of class (whether wealthy vs poor; free vs enslaved; or entirely different notions altogether), which may have transcended broader group identities that were perhaps based on shared membership of a tribe. The evidence for diversity across different types of site in some parts of the countryside of Roman Britain may be regarded as evidence for a complex interplay of personal and group identities, which operated at various levels (e.g. Eckardt 2014, 4–6).

It is important to recognise that this chapter has aimed to present broad regional and social trends in the distribution of artefacts associated with

personal adornment and display throughout the countryside, in order for us to recognise some of the regional and social variation in terms of broad group appearances. In all societies, across all regions, appearances are likely to have differed based on clothes and accessories, which carried messages about an individual's social position, including, but not limited to, age, gender, experience and their role within society.

Furthermore, little attention has been paid here to the identification of 'other' at rural sites, although as is well recognised, Roman Britain was a diverse place with frequent movement of people to, from and around the province (e.g. Ferris 2012, 144–9; Eckardt 2010; 2014, 35, 50, 59). It is clear that the most diverse places within the province would have been the major urban centres and military sites, and there is a range of epigraphic, artefactual and scientific evidence for mixed populations at many such sites. There is substantially less evidence from the countryside for the movement of people from different areas. In all regions, however, there are sites that have produced unusual groups of artefacts that differ from those in the surrounding areas (see also evidence from burials in Ch. 6 and wider discussion in Ch. 8).

What, for instance, does the presence of an unusually large group of brooches, of wide ranging and regionally unusual types, from the farmstead at St Mawgan-in-Pydar, Cornwall (Threipland 1956), tell us about the movement of people and contact with the wider province? This site is the only excavated farmstead in Cornwall to have produced a Trumpet brooch, a type which, as we have seen, was far more common in other areas, and few have been recorded by the PAS (though many are known from Nornour; see above, p. 44).

Intriguingly, the site is also currently the only farmstead from mainland Cornwall from which a Roman-style finger ring has been recorded, and a range of imported pottery was also recovered. The form of the settlement is fairly typical of rural sites in this part of the region generally, and we cannot know whether the occurrence of these objects represents the presence of outsiders at this site. It does, at the very least, suggest that the occupants of the settlement had a greater level of access to, and an interest in acquiring and wearing, 'exotic' dress accessories that did not circulate widely at other settlements in the region. This may be related to the evidence for tin smelting identified at the site; did engagement in tin production mean that the occupants of this site had considerably wider networks than those at many other settlements in Cornwall? Did the availability of such mineral resources attract others to the area, who engaged with and perhaps intermixed with the locals? Occasional, unusual finds assemblages such as these occur at rural sites across the province, and examples could have been selected from any region. Such unexpected finds at rural settlements are testimony to the mobility of people and objects around the province, as well, of course, from outside it. While we are now able to recognise some broad regional differences in terms of the ways that people may have looked, there must always have been groups and individuals whose appearance differed. The introduction of new types of object from other areas, and the ways in which they were used and displayed, meant that regional styles of dress and appearance must have been constantly developing and being renegotiated, as people were exposed to the new and changing appearances of others.